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THE LIFE
OF
HENRY THE FIFT.

WRITTEN BY
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

The Edition of 1623, newly Revised and Corrected,

WITH NOTES
AND
AN INTRODUCTION,

BY
WALTER GEORGE STONE.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN the following pages I have endeavoured to show how in the construction of *Henry V.* Shakspeare dealt with the historical matter he derived from Holinshed. For this purpose the play has been compared, as far as possible, scene by scene, with the corresponding passages in the *Chronicles*, from which large extracts have been made, in order to enable the reader to judge more clearly of the extent of Shakspeare's obligations, and the method of his work. Deviations from his authority have, when they occur, been pointed out and commented on.

Shakspeare did not, it appears to me, turn to any other historical source for his play, except perhaps in a few unimportant instances, which have been noticed in their places. The wooing scene in *The Famous Victories of Henry V.* has long been regarded as the prototype of the similar scene in Shakspeare's play, and I have therefore devoted some space to their comparison.

Although I do not profess to survey the events of Henry the Fifth's reign from the historian's point of view, yet in subordination to my chief design,—the examination of Shakspeare's debt to Holinshed,—I considered it might be interesting to trace in the notes to this Introduction the original sources from which the *Chronicles* themselves were compiled, and also to add such historical details as served to connect and illustrate my subject.

Before proceeding to the comparison of Shakspeare and Holinshed, some brief remarks on the editions and date of *Henry V.*, the Globe Theatre and scenic arrangements in Elizabethan England, may be necessary.

I. EDITIONS. The earliest is a Q? published in 1600, which Mr. Daniel has shown¹ is not, as has been supposed, a first sketch, the F? of 1623 giving Shakspeare's revision of his work; but is printed from a surreptitious and defective copy, so that the F? must be regarded as containing the only genuine text. The Q? was reprinted in 1602 and 1680.

¹ *Henry V.*, Parallel Texts, ed. Nicholson, Introduction, pp. x.—xiv.

ii *Editions and date of HENRY V. Its epic character.*

II. DATE. The date of *Henry V.* is fixed, by an allusion in the Prologue of Act V. ll. 29—34, to the expected triumphant return of the earl of Essex from Ireland. In March, 1599, a large force under the command of Essex, who had been made lord-deputy, was sent thither to subdue the revolt caused by Hugh O'Neal, earl of Tyrone. Shakspeare would be likely to feel a special interest in this expedition, because the earl of Southampton, his friend and patron, accompanied it.¹ Essex ended his campaign by a truce with O'Neal, and returned to England in September without having effected anything.

III. SCENIC DIFFICULTIES. THE GLOBE THEATRE. One of the first things which strikes one in this play is the constant and almost painful solicitude of Shakspeare to win his audience's indulgence for the poverty of the stage accessories. As these were probably neither better nor worse than those to which play-goers were then accustomed, one is led to speculate on the cause of his anxiety.

I offer an explanation which Knight² has suggested in answer to Schlegel's remark that Shakspeare has not deemed it necessary to make the like apologies in his other historical plays.

The epic character of Henry the Fifth's wars, while it impressed the poet with a sense of the inadequacy of outward shows in reviving the memory of such mighty deeds, yet encouraged him to call upon his audience to strive for the sort of passionate forgetfulness of the present, with which a Greek might listen to a rhapsodist chanting the epos of Achilles. Note the fiery earnestness of Shakspeare's appeal to the imagination—

“O, do but think,
You stand upon the rivage, and behold,
A city on th' inconstant billows dancing ;
* * * * * *

Follow, follow !
Grapple your mind to sternage of this navy ;
And leave your England, as dead midnight, still.”

Prol. Act III. ll. 13—19.

And again :—

“Now we bear the king
Toward Calais : grant him there ; there seen,
Heave him away upon your winged thought
Athwart the sea.”—*Prol.* Act V. ll. 6—9.

¹ Essex made him general of the horse, contrary, Camden says, to Elizabeth's instructions.—*Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha*, ed. Hearne, iii. 789, and 793. The queen was offended with Southampton for marrying without her leave, and expressly excepted him from promotion.

² *Pictorial Shakspeare*. Illustrations of *Henry V.* Act I.

The epos must be national, and the heroes of their own land the actors, if the hearts of the hearers were to be deeply moved, and therefore, though in *Julius Cæsar*, for example, larger destinies are at stake, yet—save for the touches of human nature akin through all the ages—Shakspeare was in this drama evoking the shadows of great names revered in a far-off time by an alien race, but in his own generation awakening a sober historical interest rather than the feeling of a personal share in their glory which inspired the descendants of the victors at Agincourt. This was the chord of sympathy to be touched, and the measured applause which might reward a well-planned historical play could ill compensate for the outburst of patriotic pride he hoped to call forth.

Scenes and stage machinery were introduced soon after the Restoration.¹ We may picture an Elizabethan theatre from Mr. Paget's description. "The buildings. were simple in form; in the larger theatres only the stage, the 'tiring rooms, and galleries were roofed over, the central space, or yard, being open to the sky." "There was no scenery; the walls were draped with tapestry or curtains, and other curtains placed between the front of the stage and the back, called traverses, increased or lessened the visible area, according as they were drawn together or thrown apart." "The actors were left on a naked platform, to tell the poet's story by their own unaided efforts."²

Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*,³ has treated the incongruous results which an inattention to the unities involved, with much sarcastic humour. He says, "you shal haue *Asia* of the one side, and *Affrick* of the other, and so many vnder-kingdoms, that the Player, when he commeth in, must cuer begin with telling where he is: or els, the tale will not be conceiued. Now ye shal haue three Ladies, walke to gather flowers, and then we must belceue the stage to be a Garden. By and by, we heare newes of shipwracke in the same place, and then we are to blame, if we accept it not for a Rock. Vpon the backe of that, comes out a hidious Monster, with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bounde to take it for a Caue." What a hardened offender against the unity of place Shakspeare is in the play we are considering! The spectators must "digest the abuse of distance . . . the scene is now transported, gentles, to Southampton":

¹ Scenery was introduced by Sir William Davenant; "curious machines," by Betterton. They ran away with the player's profit, which in Hart's company once amounted to £1000 a year for whole sharers.—*Historia Histrionica* in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, xii. 346, ed. 1780.

² *Shakspeare's Plays: a Chapter of Stage History*, pp. 8,

³ Arber's *Reprint*, pp. 63, 64.

iv *The Globe Theatre. Holinshed was Shakspeare's authority.*

"There is the playhouse now, there must you sit :
And thence to France shall we convey you safe."

Prolog. Act II. ll. 31—37.

"In the mean time," continues Sir Philip, "two Armies flye in, represented with foure swords and bucklers, and then what harde heart will not receiue it for a pitched field?" Cf. *Prolog.* Act IV. ll. 49—52 :—

"O for pity !—we shall much disgrace
With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
Right ill-disposed in brawl ridiculous,
The name of Agincourt."

Such violations of another unity as "jumping o'er times"¹ and setting one down again after the lapse of five years—the interval between Act IV. and V. in *Henry V.*—are commented upon in the same sarcastic spirit.

The Globe,² a large circular or polygonal building, "this wooden O" stood on the Bankside, Southwark, about a hundred yards west of the Surrey foot of London Bridge. It was built by Burbage in 1599, the year in which our play is dated, as a successor to the Theatre, situate near the site of the present Standard Theatre, Shoreditch. The Globe was partially open to the weather, and was therefore called a summer-house.³

IV. AUTHORITIES CONSULTED. The reign of Henry V. in Holinshed⁴ was Shakspeare's chief authority. The edition I have used is the 2nd, published in 1587.

The historians and editions consulted by me are—

Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809.

Elmhurst—*Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. Hearne, 1727.

Titus Livius (Foro-juliensis)—*Vita Henrici Quinti*, ed. Hearne, 1716.

Gesta⁵ Henrici Quinti, ed. Williams, 1850.

Walsingham—*Historia Anglicana*, ed. Riley, 1863-4

Monstrelet—*Chroniques*, ed. Buchon, 1829.

St. Remy—*Memoires*, ed. Buchon, 1829. (With Monstrelet in the *Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises*.)

I have also had much help from Nicolas's *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, 2nd ed.

¹ *Prolog.* l. 29.

² Furnivall's *Introduction to the Leopold Shakspeare*, p. xvi. and note.

³ *Historia Illustronica*, p. 343. Plays were always acted there by daylight.

⁴ It occupies pp. 543—585.

⁵ The first part of the *Gesta* was written by one of Henry's chaplains, who accompanied the king in his first French campaign.

V. SHAKSPERE'S USE OF THE CHRONICLES.—We find the first trace of Shakspeare's Holinshed reading in the Prologue to Act I, ll. 5—8 :—

"Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
Assume the port of Mars ; and, at his heels,
Leash'd in like hounds, should famine, sword, and fire,
Crouch for employment."

From the *Chronicles*¹ we learn how, when Henry was beleaguering Rouen in 1419, a certain Rouen orator "seene in the ciuill lawes" besought the king to allow the unhappy creatures who had been cast out of the city—as being useless for its defence—to pass through the English lines : urging moreover that "if he durst manfullie assault the cite, and by force subdue it, he should win both worldlie fame, and merit great meed at the hands of almightie God, for hauing compassion of the poore, needie, and indigent people." Henry, "with a fierce countenance, and bold spirit," thereupon rebuked the men of Rouen's "malapert presumption, in that they should seeme to go about to teach him what belonged to the dutie of a conquerour:" saying, "the goddesse of battell called *Bellona* had three handmaidens, euer of necessitie attending upon hir, as blood, fire, and famine. And whereas it laie in his choise to vse them all three ; yea, two, or one of them at his pleasure, he had appointed onelie the meekest maid of those three damsels to punish them of that cite, till they were brought to reason. And whereas the gaine of a capteine attained by anie of the said three handmaidens was both glorious, honourable, and woorthie of triumph : yet of all the three, the yongest maid, which he meant to vse

¹ Ch. 567/x/38. (*Chronicles*, p. 567, col. x, l. 38. First line of extract is given.) The *Chronicles* abridged Henry's speech from *Hall*, p. 85. Hall's speech is in the first person. He may have followed a speech which Redmann makes Henry deliver in answer to the imprudent one of the advocate who pleaded the Rouen folk's cause :—*Ignorare Galli mihi videntur, quid belli ratio, exquisitissimo jure, summis ductibus semper concesserit. Cujus aequitas non palitur, qui superiores evaserint, ut victis potius ad alterius præsceptum quam ad suum arbitrium imperent. Omnium gentium arma contra me unum excitarem, si privato consilio, non publico consensu, bellum denuntiassim. Benigna et clementer omnia me administrare nemo est qui non intelligat, cum fame potius quam flamma, ferro, aut sanguine, Rotomagum ad deditionem perpello. Vestra crudelitas, impudens, et immoderata inhumanitas eorum hominum humanitatem inquinaret, si ad omnia ejus officia non propenderent. Quid enim crudelius quam tenuiores per summum scelus civitate expellere, ac hostibus suis objicere ? Quod vivunt, quod lucis usura fruuntur et spiritum commune ducunt, meae clementiae, non vestrae mansuetudini, acceptum referant. Nullam durissimae servitutis conditionem recusabo, potius quam subditi mei aliquid detrimenti patiantur.*—Redmanni, *Hist. Hen. V.*, ed. Cole, 1858 (Rolls Series), p. 55.—F. J. F. Henry's genuine utterances as recorded in a contemporary English poem (*Archæologia*, xxi. 367—377) and the speech assigned him by Elmham (pp. 198, 199) differ verbally and substantially from one another, and neither bear any resemblance—except in the bit about the people in the ditches—to Hall's speech.

at that time was most profitable and commodious. And as for the poore people lieng in the ditches, if they died through famine, the fault was theirs, that like cruell tyrants had put them out of the towne, to the intent he should slaie them ; and yet had he saued their liues, so that if anie lacke of charitie was, it rested in them, and not in him. But [as] to their cloked request, he meant not to gratifie them within so much, but they should keepe them still to help to spend their vittels. And as to assault the towne, he told them he would they should know, he was both able and willing thereto, as he should see occasion : but the choise was in his hand, to tame them either with blood, fire, or famine, or with them all, whercof he would take the choise at his pleasure, and not at theirs."

The discourse¹ between Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury ; and John Fordham,² bishop of Ely, concerning Henry the Fifth's altered demeanour, is Shakspeare's. The *Chronicles*,³ following Hall here, state that the clergy, fearing the bill brought forward in Henry the Fourth's days to deprive them of "temporall lands devoutlie giuen" might be revived, proposed by "some sharpe inuention" to turn the king's attention to other objects. Accordingly Chicheley in a speech at the parliament of Leicester, 1414, set forth Henry's claim to Normandy, Aquitaine, and the other ancient appanages of the English crown ; as also his title to the whole realm, derived from Edward⁴ the Third. In order clearly to understand the scope of this confiscation scheme, it may be well to review its previous history.

[During the reign of Henry the Fourth the Commons had made two attempts to bring about a complete disendowment of the Church. In 1404 Henry, a needy prince, always in want of money, was obliged to assemble a parliament at Coventry in order to obtain supplies, although he had been disappointed by the parliament which met at Westminster in the same year, and after its sittings had been prolonged for twelve weeks, separated without relieving his necessities. With the hope of effecting his object more easily he directed the sheriffs to prevent the election of those who had any skill in the laws of the realm : *qui in jure regni vel docti fuissent vel apprenticii ; sed tales omnino mitterentur ad hoc negotium, quos constaret ignorare cujusque juris methodum*.⁵ The *selecti milites Parliamentales* proposed as a source of revenue the entire confiscation of the Church's temporal goods : *ut Ecclesia generaliter de*

¹ Act I. sc. i.

² John Fordham, translated from Durham to Ely in 1388, died 1425.—*Coxlwin's Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, p. 274, ed. 1615. He was one of the English ambassadors who arranged the terms of the treaty of Troyes.—*Ck.* 572/1/48.

³ *Ch.* 545/2/10. *Hall*, p. 49.

⁴ Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who was then living, had a better title, being descended from Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III.

⁵ *Walsingham*, ii. 265.

*bonis temporalibus privaretur.*¹ Such a sweeping measure caused bitter discussions between the laymen and clerks present at the parliament, the former maintaining that they not only made larger contributions for the king's service, but risked their lives in his defence, while the clergy sat idly at home. To this Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, replied by asserting that on the contrary the king received tenths from the clergy oftener than fifteenths from the laity; the Church vassals who followed him to the war were not less in number than the military tenants, while night and day the prayers of the Church were offered up for his success. Observing the scornful mien of Sir John Cheney, the speaker, who "in replieng, by plaine speach seemed little to esteeme such praiers of the church;"² the archbishop "being set in a great chafe," expressed his conviction that no kingdom could stand which neglected appeals for divine aid, and threatened to make Sir John suffer personally for any robbery he might commit on the Church. Seeing Henry hesitate, Arundel knelt before the king, and adjured him to remember his oath to preserve the rights of the Church, warned him of God's anger, and the weight of ecclesiastical censures. Receiving a reassuring answer, the archbishop returned to his place, and addressing the knights, pointed out how they and others like them had advised Henry and his predecessors to confiscate the property held by French and Norman ecclesiastics in England, yet their present sovereign was not half a mark the better for it. All this wealth had been absorbed by them; greed was their only motive in advising such measures, and if the king were to yield now to their counsels, by next year he would not be a farthing the richer. As the knights persisted in urging the king to confiscate the temporalities, Arundel, "as an other Argus, hauing his eie on each side, to marke what was doone,"³ appealed to the temporal lords, and with success. Some of these nobles were averse on principle to depriving the Church of her property, and moreover felt grateful to the archbishop and bishops for opposing a former proposal of the knights for the resumption by the crown of all grants of land made since Edward the Second's reign. The knights were silenced, and even asked the archbishop for his forgiveness.]

But in 1410 they⁴ presented a schedule to Henry the Fourth, containing the calculations which Shakspeare has given in Act I. sc. i. ll. 12—19. It ran thus:—

¹ *Walsingham*, ii. 265.

² *Vultu voceque pretendisset publice se preces Ecclesie parvipendere.*—*Walsingham*, ii. 265. Ch. 526/1/33. Sir John Cheney was said to have left the service of the Church, in which he had been ordained a deacon, without a dispensation. He became a soldier.—*Walsingham*, ii. 266.

³ *Archiepiscopus vero, ut Argus, sibimet ex omni parte prospiciens.*—*Walsingham*, ii. 266, 267. Ch. 526/2/24.

⁴ *Walsingham*, on this occasion, calls the knights *Satellites Pilatales*.—ii. 282.

"To the most excellent lord our K. and to all the nobles in this present parlement assembled, your faithfull commons doo humble signifie, that our souereigne lord the king might haue of the temporall possessions, lands & reuenues which are lewdlie spent, consumed and wasted by the bishops, abbots, and priors, within this realme, so much in value as would suffice to find and susteine one hundred and fiftie earles, one thousand & fife hundred knights six thousand and two hundred esquiers, and one hundred hospitals more than now be."¹

[The knights, however, were unable to show with sufficient definiteness from whence this revenue was to be derived; and the prince, afterwards Henry V., forbad them ever to moot such a project² again. The Lollard feeling which had been thus manifested in the Commons was detested by the prince, whose orthodoxy is a frequent subject for our historians' praise.

Hall³ seems to be the sole authority for the revival of the confiscation scheme in Henry the Fifth's reign, and for Chicheley's speech. That a parliament was held at Leicester in 1414 we learn from Elmham,⁴ who, however, records nothing of importance save the act passed against the Lollards, the rest of the chapter being a panegyric of the king's zeal for the purity of the Christian faith. Nicolas,⁵ who refers to the parliamentary rolls as his authority, ignores the Leicester parliament altogether, and says that Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, who was then chancellor, propounded the king's war policy in a speech to the parliament which met at Westminster on November 18, 1414.

Beaufort, taking for his text so much of Gal. vi. 10 (*dum tempus habemus operemur bonum*) as suited his purpose, told the parliament that the king, considering the peaceable state of the kingdom and the justice of his cause, deemed the time was now come to assert his rights. To obtain these his vassals must aid him with their counsels, his people

¹ Ch. 536[1/20]. *Excellentissimo Domino nostro Regi, et omnibus Proceribus in presenti Parlamento constitutis, omnes communes fideles demonstrant humiliter, dicentes veraciter, quod Dominus noster Rex potest habere de bonis temporalibus per Episcopos et Abbates, ac Priores, occupatis, ac superbe vastatis in regno, quindecim Comites, mille quingentos milites, sex millia ducentos armigeros, et centum xenodochia, plura quam nunc sunt, bene et fideliter sustentata de terris et tementis nunc inutiliter et superbe vastatis.*—Walsingham, ii. 282, 283. In the *Chronicles* *quindecim Comites* is wrongly translated. Shakspeare, who followed the *Chronicles* even in their errors, has here, however, fifteen earls.

² All these transactions are recorded by *Walsingham*, ii. 264—267; and ii. 282, 283.

³ Hall's account, with the speeches of Chicheley, Westmoreland, and Exeter on the king's war policy, occupies pp. 49—56. We meet with Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, in *Henry IV.*, Pts. I. and II.

⁴ Cap. xvii.

⁵ *Agincourt*, pp. 4, 5. Yet Nicolas says Chicheley counselled Henry V. to claim his rights, p. 1.

with their support, and his subjects generally with a large subsidy. By the enlargement of the king's dominions his subjects' burdens would be lessened, and great honour and glory would accrue to them. The authenticity and justice of the Salic law, questions which form the theme of Chicheley's speech as given by Hall, were not touched upon by Beaufort.]

In Act I. sc. ii. Shakspeare has closely followed Chicheley's argument, showing the fictitious nature of the Salic law, and its frequent violation by the French themselves. Ll. 69—71 are almost a verbal transcript from the *Chronicles*.¹—

“Hugh Capet also—who usurped the crown
Of Charles the duke of Loraine, sole heir male
Of the true line and stock of Charles the Great.”

The *Chronicles* give the passage thus: “Hugh Capet also, who vsurped the crowne vpon Charles duke of Loraine, the sole heir male of the line and stocke of Charles the great.” The simile, “clear as is the summer's sun” (l. 86), comes from Holinshed's² “more cleere than the sunne it openlie appeareth.” In l. 77, Shakspeare has been misled by the *Chronicles* into putting Lewis the Tenth for the Ninth. This mistake affords an incidental proof with respect to the authority used by him in this play. Hall, from whom the *Chronicles* derive Chicheley's speech, has Lewis the Ninth. On the *Chronicles*' authority, Shakspeare has made Chicheley cite *Numbers*, xxvii. 8, in support of Henry's title (ll. 98—100): The long speeches assigned by Hall to the archbishop, the duke of Exeter, and the earl of Westmoreland, bear no resemblance to those which Shakspeare puts in their mouths. Shakspeare took the substance of Westmoreland's speech (the similes are his own), and the adage about France and Scotland from Holinshed, but alters Exeter's discourse in order to lead up to the archbishop's simile of the bees. In Holinshed, Exeter argues that France supplies Scotland with money and training in arms; if, then, the French are conquered the Scots will prove an easy prey. The king's opening words (ll. 9—32), and his description (ll. 146—154) of the usual Scottish policy when England was at war are not in the *Chronicles*. The lines (ll. 180—183) wherewith Exeter likens government to harmonious music were perhaps derived from a passage in Cicero's *Republic*.³ Chicheley's comparison

¹ Ch. 546/1/1. The *Chronicles*' account, with the speeches, occupy pp. 545, 546.

² Ch. 546/1/19.

³ *Ut enim in fidibus aut tibietis, atque ut in cantu ipso ac vocibus concentus est quidam tenendus ex distinctis sonis, quem inmutatum aut discrepantem aures eruditae ferre non possunt; isque concentus ex dissimillarum vocum moderatione concors tamen efficitur et congruens: sic ex summis et infumis et mediis interiectis ordinibus, ut sonis, moderata ratione civitas consensu dissimillimorum*

of the bees to the subjects of a well-ordered state is, as Malone pointed out,¹ taken from Lyly's *Euphues and his England*, 1580. The *Chronicles* record the archbishop's offer of an unprecedented subsidy from the clergy (ll. 132—135. And Act I. sc. i., ll. 75—81). [Shakspeare has omitted a picturesque incident with which the debate in parliament closed. After the duke of Exeter's speech, "all the companie began to crie; Warre, warre; France, France." 2]

In the scene with the French ambassadors, Shakspeare modifies Holinshed's account in order to bring the tennis-balls' story into greater prominence. The *Chronicles*³ relate how during Lent, 1414, when Henry was at Kenilworth, ambassadors came to him from the Dauphin and presented "a barrell of Paris balles . . . a token that was taken in verie ill part, as sent in scorne, to signifie that it was more meet for the king to passe the time with such childish exercise, than to attempt any worthie exploit." The king wrote to the Dauphin, "that yer ought long, he would tosse him some London balles that perchance should shake the walles of the best court in France." This passage and *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*⁴ supplied the material for the latter part of Act I. sc. ii.; and the king's speech beginning, "We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us," &c. From ll. 281—282:—

"And tell the pleasant prince this mock of his
Hath turned his balls to gun-stones,"

it may be conjectured that Shakspeare had also read in Caxton⁵ (*Chron.*, ed. 1482, sign. t. 5) the following passage: "And than the Dolphyn of

concinat: et quæ harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia, acutissimum atque optimum in omni re publica vinculum incolumitatis; eaque sine iustitia nullo pacto esse potest.—Cicero *De Republica*, rec. F. Osannus, lib. ii. cap. xlii. A few fragments only of the *De Republica*, preserved in other works, were known in Shakspeare's time. This passage was quoted by S. Augustine (*Civitas Dei*, lib. ii. cap. xxi). Cicero was indebted to Plato (*De Republica*, lib. iv. pp. 432 and 443) for the similitude.

¹ *Variorum Shakspeare*, xvii. 279, where the extract from Lyly will be found. Also in Arber's ed. of *Euphues*, pp. 262—264.

² *Ch.* 546/29.

³ *Ch.* 545/1x. The authority cited by the *Chronicles* for this story is the *Chronicles de Byton*, supposed to have been written by Thomas of Otterbourne. *Eodem anno* [1414] *in Quadragesima rege existente apud Kenilworth, Karolus, regis Francorum filius, Dalphinus vocatus, misit pilas Parisianus ad ludendum cum pueris. Cui rex Anglorum rescripsit, dicens, se in brevi pilas missurum Londoniarum quibus timeret & confunderet sua tecta.*—Otterbourne in *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres*, ed. Hearne, pp. 274, 275. Elmham records the incident of the *Parisian pilas* in a life of Henry V. in Latin verse.—*Agincourt*, p. 9, note. *Holinshed*, 545/1/4, and *Stow*, p. 562, ed. 1605, have "Paris balles;" *Hall*, p. 57, "tennis balles."

⁴ Hazlitt's *Shakspeare's Library*, Pt. II. vol. i. pp. 352, 353. Cf. "My lord Prince Dolphin is very pleasant with me," p. 353, and Act I. sc. ii. l. 259.

Mr. Furnivall kindly supplied me with the Caxton extracts and references in this Introduction.

fraunce answerd to our ambassatours, and sayd in this maner that the kyng was ouer yong & to tendre of age to make ony werre / as ayenst hym. & was not lyke yet to be no good werryour to do & to make suche a conqueste therupon hym / And somewhat in scorne & despyte he sent to hym a tounne ful of tenys balles / by cause he wold haue somewhat for to play with al for hym & for his lordes. and that became hym better than to mayntene ony werre / " Henry—when the Dauphin's wit was reported to him—"was wonder sore agreued . . . and anone lete make tenys balles for the dolphyn in al the hast that they myzt be made, and they were grete *gonne stones* for the Dolphyn to playe with all" (sign. t. 5). In a metrical history¹ of Henry's invasion, attributed to Lydgate, the king—while besieging Harfleur—thus alludes to the Dauphin's insult:

"My gonnys shall lyn upon this grene,
For they shall play with Harflete
A game at tynes as y wene ;"

and again :—

"Mynce pleyers that y have hedyr brought,
Ther ballys beth of stonys round."

Shakspeare—for the sake most likely of dramatic effect—transfers the duke of Exeter's embassy to the period of Henry's landing near Harfleur. "For he [Henry V.] is footed in this land already."² I shall here, however, take this event in its chronological order. The *Chronicles* relate how, after the parliament I have just described was over, Henry sent a splendid embassy headed by his uncle, the duke of Exeter,³ to Paris, to demand Normandy and the other ancient possessions of England in France, and also to claim the French crown. If these conditions were granted, the king offered to marry the princess Katherine, and endow her with the wrongfully withheld territories. Or else, Henry "with the aid of God, and helpe of his people, would recouer his right and inheritance wrongfullie withholden from him, with mortall warre, and dint of sword."⁴ The English ambassadors were honourably received, "banketted right sumptuouslie," and entertained with "iusts and martiall pastimes," in which Charles VI. himself "manfullie brake speares and lustillie tournied." They returned, however, without obtaining more than a promise that an embassy should shortly be sent, bearing the final resolve of the French court.

² Harl. MS. 565, printed in *Agincourt*, see pp. 307 and 309 for the lines quoted. IHearne printed what Nicolas believed was another copy of the same poem in the appendix to *Elmhurst*, pp. 359—375.

³ Act II. sc. iv. l. 143.

⁴ Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, created duke of Exeter, Nov. 18, 1416.—*Agincourt*, p. 243, note. He was Cardinal Beaufort's brother. The date of the embassy was Feb. 1415.

⁴ Ch. 546/2/69.

On hearing their report, Henry determined to have recourse to war, and began making great preparations of arms and military stores.¹

[It may be well here to add a few particulars relating to these negotiations from Sir H. Nicolas's account of them in *Agincourt*.²

He says—referring to the *Fœdéra*—that the ambassadors were the bishops of Durham and Norwich, the earl of Salisbury, Richard lord Grey, Sir John Pelham, Robert Waterton, Esq., and Dr Ware. Their first claim was the crown of France, and waiving this, but without prejudice to Henry's rights, the sovereignty over the duchies of Normandy and Touraine, the earldoms of Anjou and Maine, the duchy of Brittany, the earldom and lands of Flanders, together with all other parts of the duchy of Aquitaine, the territories ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny, and the lands between the Somme and the Graveling. Also the county of Provence, the castles and lordships of Beaufort and Nogent, and the arrears of King John's ransom. The princess Katherine was to have a dowry of 2,000,000 crowns. According, however, to Monstrelet³ the ambassadors were the earl of Dorset (afterwards duke of Exeter), Lord Grey, and the bishops of Durham and Norwich. Neither Monstrelet nor St Remy state that they claimed the French throne for their sovereign, but the former historian attributes the failure of the negotiations to "*demandes trop excessives, comme la duché de Normandie et la comté de Ponthieu, avec la duché d'Aquitaine à en jouir héritablement pour toujours.*"⁴

Probably the claim to the French throne was held in reserve, only to be brought forward if the lesser demands were refused. This view is supported by the following expressions occurring in a letter⁵ from Henry V. to Charles VI., dated July 28. "The Sovereign judge of Sovereigns will one day be our witness of the sincere inclination with which we have sought peace . . . even by giving up the possession of a State which belongs to us by hereditary right, and which nature would oblige us to preserve for our posterity." "To avoid a deluge of human blood, restore to us our inheritance which you unjustly detain, or render us at least that which we have so many times demanded by our ambassadors."]

¹ The account in the *Chronicles*, pp. 546, 547, of the embassy and Henry's preparations for war, was derived from *Hall*, pp. 57, 58.

² *Agincourt*, pp. 2, 3.

³ *Monstrelet*, iii. 273.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 289.

⁵ *Agincourt*, appendix, p. 5. Englished by Nicolas from the *Histoire de Charles VI.*, ed. Laboureur. This letter, which will be referred to again, is also in *Monstrelet*, iii. 308. It is dated *en notre chatel de Hantonne* [Southampton], *au rivage de la mer*, Aug. 5 [1415]. Laboureur's text is dated July 28. St Remy's words support the view suggested in the text. The archbishop of Canterbury, in reply to the proposals of the French ambassadors at Winchester, said that *if* Guienne, Normandy, &c., were not restored, Henry *avoit intention de descendre en France; et, à l'aide de Dieu, de recouvrer tout le royaume qui lui doit appartenir.*—*St Remy*, vii. 482. And so, to much the same effect, *Monstrelet*, iii. 303.

In June, 1415, the French ambassadors appeared before Henry, who was then at Winchester, and offered him through their spokesman, Guillaume Bouratier, archbishop of Bourges, "a great summe of monie, with diuerse countries, being in verie deed but base and poore as a dowrie with the ladie Catherine in marriage, so that he would dissolue his armie, and dismisse his soldiers, which he had gathered and put in a readinesse."¹ This embassy is merely alluded to by Shakspeare in the Prologue of Act III. ll. 28—31 :—

"Suppose, the ambassador from the French comes back;
Tells Henry that the king doth offer him
Katherine his daughter; and with her, to dowry,
Some petty and unprofitable dukedoms."

The Famous Victories brings in the archbishop of Bourges as the bearer of the tennis-balls; and afterwards his grace just gets back to France in time to announce Henry's arrival. But the tennis-balls' incident, if true, belongs to the preceding year. Shakspeare, wishing to make use of this story, places it in its right chronological order, and passes over the embassy of 1415 with a brief notice.

[The archbishop of Bourges's oration "dissuading warre, and praising peace," being ended, the ambassadors were feasted, sitting at the king's table. On a day appointed, Chicheley replied to the French proposals by a speech claiming for his sovereign Aquitaine, Anjou, and other ancient possessions of Henry's ancestors, as a dowry with the princess Katherine.² Chicheley did not—if we are to judge from the silence of the *Chronicles*—bring forward on this occasion Henry's title to the crown of France. "The king," we are told, "auowed the archbishops saieng, and in the word of a prince promised to performe it to the vttermost." Blood, fire, and sword were, of course, the penalties of disobedience. The archbishop of Bourges,—

* *Ch.* 547/a/38.

* The archbishop of Bourges finally proposed, 4th July, 1415, to add the city and castle of Limoges, which included the large and populous towns of Limoges and Tulle, to the fifteen towns before offered; and pay 40,000 gold crowns in addition to the princess's dowry of 800,000. The bishop of Winchester, [Henry Beaufort] 6th July, declared the king's final resolve in a speech to this effect: the concessions of the French ambassadors were insignificant when compared with the crown of France, the duchies of Normandy and Touraine, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the sovereignty of Brittany and Flanders; nor was the manner in which the proffered territory was to be held specified. The king however would have been content with the same conditions as those on which peace was made with Edward III. (the treaty of Bretigny is here referred to); but from their offers he was convinced that their master was only trifling with him, and he must therefore have recourse to other means to obtain justice. This is Sir H. Nicolas's account, derived from the *Histoire de Charles VI.*, ed. Laboureur.—*Agincourt*, pp. 27, 29.

whom the *Chronicles* style in a marginal note "a proud presumptuous prelat"¹,—vexed at the ill success of his diplomacy, "after certeine brags blustered out with impatience," prayed safe-conduct to depart. In granting it Henry addressed the French ambassadors with characteristic vigour of expression. "I little esteeme," said he, "your French brags, and lesse set by your power and strength; I know perfectlie my right to my region, which you usurpe; and except you denie the apparant truth, so doo your selues also: if you neither doo nor will know it, yet God and the worlde knoweth it." After asserting himself to be the equal of the French king in puissance, and in the love of his subjects, Henry went on to say, "In the meane time tell this to the vsurper your master, that within three moncths, I will enter into France, as into mine owne true and lawfull patrimonie, not with brag of words, but with deeds of men, and dint of sword, by the aid of God, in whome is my whole trust and confidence." He ended, "I trust sooner to visit you, than you shall haue cause to bid me welcome."²

In the Prologue of Act II. l. 6, Henry is called "the mirror of all Christian kings." For this title Shakspeare was perhaps indebted to Hall,³ who, in closing his review of the king's character, asserts that Henry V. was "the blasyng comete and apparent lanterne in his daies, the mirror of Christendome, and the glory of his counirey, he was the floure of kynges passed, and a glasse to them that should succede."

Ll. 8—10,

"For now sits Expectation in the air;
And hides a sword, from hilts unto the point,
With crowns imperial, crowns, and coronets;"

contain a reminiscence of the wood-cut portrait⁴ of Edward III. in the *Chronicles* (1st ed.). The king there appears bearing a sword, encircled near the point by two crowns.

¹ The spirited speech of the archbishop of Bourges, to which our historians generally apply hard terms, will be found in *Monstrelet*, iii. 303, 304. *Hall* (pp. 58, 59) englished it. The *Chronicles* omit it. According to *Des Ursins*, whom *Nicolas* quotes, the archbishop reminded the king of the insecure title he had even to the crown of England.—*Agincourt*, p. 31.

² The account of the French embassy in the *Chronicles*, pp. 547, 548, is derived from *Hall*, pp. 58, 59. *Monstrelet* (iii. 301—303) is his authority. Henry's speech (*Ch.* 547/2/69; *Hall*, p. 59) is not in *Monstrelet*. Henry was considered to have acted generously in giving the ambassadors a safe-conduct to depart.—*Elmhurst*, p. 30. *Liuius*, p. 6.

³ *Hall*, p. xx3. Henry V. "both liued and died a paterne in princehood, a lode-starre in honour, and [a] mirror of magnificence."—*Ch.* 583/2/61.

⁴ Engraved in the Illustrations of Act II. *Henry V.*, in Knight's *Pictorial Shakspeare*. In *Rastell's Pastyme of People* there is an imposing full length portrait of Edward III. holding a crown-encircled sword.

Passing over the first scene—where the characters are taken solely from Elizabethan London, and not from books—to the consideration of Act II. sc. ii., it is first to be noted that the *Chronicles*¹ gave Shakspeare no hint for the dramatic method by which Henry leads the traitors on to their self-condemnation. According to the *Chronicles*, their treason was discovered the night before the day fixed for the king's departure from England. After the conspirators had confessed their plot, which was either to betray the king to the French, or murder him before leaving England,—the inducement thereto being a large bribe² from the French court,—Henry assembled his nobles, and doomed the traitors in the words paraphrased in ll. 166—181. The king said, addressing the criminals, "Hauing thus conspired the death and destruction of me, which am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, it maie be (no doubt) but that you likewise haue sworne the confusion of all that are here with me, and also the desolation of your owne countrie. To what horror (O lord) for any true English hart to consider, that such an execrable iniquitie should euer so bewrap you, as for pleasing of a forren enemie to imbrue your hands in your bloud, and to ruine your owne natiue soile. Reuenge herein touching my person, though I seeke not; yet for the safegard of you my deere freends & for due preseruacion of all sorts, I am by office to cause example to be shewed. Get ye hence therefore ye poore miserable wretches to the receiuing of your iust reward, wherein Gods maicstie giue you grace of his mercie and repentance of your heinous offenses."³

The whole of Henry's first speech beginning,

"The mercy, that was quick in us but late,
By your own counsel is suppress'd and kill'd:"

is due to Shakspeare's invention, save only ll. 94—99, and 127—137,—in which the king inveighs against the ingratitude of Scrope,—which were

¹ The account in the *Chronicles*, pp. 548, 549, of the conspiracy is derived from *Hall*, pp. 60, 61. St Remy's account of the discovery of the traitors bears a curious resemblance to Shakspeare's scene. This chronicler relates that the conspirators advised the earl of March to feign sickness as an excuse for not going with the king to France; promising to place the earl on the throne during Henry's absence. March revealed this proposal to Henry, and the king thereupon called a council, and after declaring his knowledge of a plot to deprive him of his crown, asked his nobles what should be done to the men who were guilty of such treachery. The question was put to each lord in succession, and the conspirators replied that such traitors ought to suffer a death so cruel as to be a warning to others. Henry then confronted the earl of March with Cambridge and his accomplices, who speedily confessed their guilt.—*St Remy*, vii. 488, 489.

² "A myllyon of gold."—(Caxton, *Chron.* ed. 1482, sign. t. 5, back.) And so Lydgate in a poem, *Harl. MS.* 565, referred to above.—*Agincourt*, p. 43, note.

³ *Ch.* 548/2/24. Henry's speech in *Hall*, p. 61, differs verbally, but not substantially, from the *Chronicles*' version.

suggested by the following passage in the *Chronicles*.¹ "The said lord Scrope was in such fauour with the king, that he admitted him sometimes to be his bedfellow (*see* Act II. sc. ii., l. 8), in whose fidelitie the king reposed such trust, that when anie priuat or publike counsell was in hand, this lord had much in the determination of it. For he represented so great grauitie in his countenance, such modestie in behauiour, and so vertuous zeale to all godlinesse in his talke, that whatsoeuer he said was thought for the most part necessarie to be doone and followed." The obscure words of Cambridge, ll. 155—157,

"For me,—the gold of France did not seduce;
Although I did admit it as a motive,
The sooner to effect what I intended,"

refer to a statement in the *Chronicles*² whereby we learn that the earl of Cambridge hoped to raise his brother-in-law, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, to the throne; and—as the latter was unlikely to have any issue—to succeed him.

"And therefore (as was thought) he rather confessed himselfe for need of monie to be corrupted by the French king, than he would declare his inward mind, and open his verie intent and secret purpose,

¹ *Ch.* 548/2/3. The *Chronicles* follow *Walsingham* and *Monstrelet* here. "*Præstendebat namque [Scrope] tantam gravitatem in vultu, tantam in gestu modestiam, tantam in affatu religionem, ut quicquid ipse diceret, velut oraculum e celo lapsum Rex oportere fieri iudicaret.*"—*Walsingham*, ii. 305. Men often slept together in the middle ages. It was a "curtasye" to offer your bed-fellow his choice of a place in the bed. See *The Babees Book*, ed. Furnivall, 307/293. *Monstrelet* is the authority for the statement that Scrope was Henry's bed-fellow, *lequel [Scrope] couchoit toutes les nuits avec le roi.*—iii. 312. His ungrateful return for the king's confidence was considered to have so aggravated Scrope's guilt that he was drawn from the Westgate to the Northgate of Southampton to be beheaded.—*Agincourt*, p. 41. According to *Walsingham* Henry's confidence enabled Scrope to carry on a treasonable intercourse with the French, while he amused the king with hopes of obtaining concessions from them. On their return the French ambassadors assured their countrymen that Henry had either abandoned his enterprise, or, as was more likely, was slain.—ii. 305, 306.

² *Ch.* 548/2/72. Nicolas disbelieves this statement, because although the earl of Cambridge had married Anne, daughter of Roger earl of March, her brother Edmund was alive, and only twenty-three years of age. But Hall, who is followed here by *Holinshed*, says that the earl of Cambridge, "considering that the earle of Marche for diuerse secreete impediments was not liable to haue generacion, he was sure that the crowne should come to him by his wife, or to his children," p. 61. Hall introduces this account with the expression, "diuerse write," but does not name his authorities. Goodwin, in his *Life of Henry the Fifth*, p. 64, states that the earl was reminded by the French ministers of his wife's claim to the crown; and Nicolas supposes his authority to have been an anonymous historian of the reign of Henry VI., whose MS. was then in the possession of D. J. Sotheby.—*Agincourt*, pp.

which if it were espied, he saw plainlie that the earle of March should haue tasted of the same cuppe that he had drunken, and what should haue come to his owne children he much doubted."¹ This story is contradicted by the *Chronicles* themselves, for we find further on that the earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey were distinctly charged with such a conspiracy in their indictment.²

In this episode we have the first sign of the Nemesis which was to follow Richard's death. Once again,³ in this brilliant and triumphant play we see the shadow of the coming retribution, when the firm heart of the king, resolute to face earthly foes, quails at the thought of Richard's appeal for vengeance, and he cries,

"Not to-day, O Lord,
O, not to-day, think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown!"³

We may well imagine that Shakspeare's eye rested on the comment which the chronicler makes after recording Henry's speech to his lords on the discovery of the plot. "This doone, the king thought that suerlie all treason and conspiracie had beene vtterlie extinct: not suspecting the fire which was newlie kindled, and ceased not to increase, till at length it burst out into such a flame, that catching the beames of

¹ Ch. 549/1/8.

² Ch. 549/1/25. From the parliamentary rolls, iv. 65, 66 (perhaps the *Chronicles* authority), it appears that the earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey were charged with having conspired to conduct the earl of March to the frontiers of Wales, and there proclaim him the rightful heir to the throne, in case Richard II. was actually dead. Henry V. was to be styled in a proclamation, "Henry of Lancaster, Usurper of England." A certain Thomas de Trumpyngton, who resembled Richard II. in person, was to be brought from Scotland, with Henry Percy and many Scots, to make war against the king. The dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, and other *magnates* were to be put to death. Lord Scrope was accused of knowing and concealing these designs. Sir Thomas Grey was sentenced by a commission, consisting of seven peers, a knight, two judges, and a common jury, appointed to try the three conspirators, but the earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope having appealed to the judgment of their peers, a new commission was formed, presided over by the duke of Clarence, which simply reviewed the proceedings of the previous tribunal, and confirmed its sentence without hearing any evidence. The French bribe was not mentioned in the conspirators' condemnation. The earl of March was on this commission. He was accused by the earl of Cambridge of assenting to the scheme for placing him on the throne.—*Agincourt*, pp. 38—42. Monstrelet says that he revealed the plot to Henry and named the traitors—iii. 312. The conspirators confessed their guilt. The confession of the earl of Cambridge, and a letter beseeching mercy, addressed to Henry V., will be found in the appendix, *Agincourt*, pp. 19, 20. Richard earl of Cambridge was the second son of Edmund of Langley, the duke of York in *Richard II.*, and brother of the duke of York in this play, who was Aumerle in *Richard II.* Courtenay says that Lord Scrope was a nephew of Archbishop Scrope; and Sir Thomas Grey was of the same family—perhaps a lineal ancestor—of Earl Grey.—*Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakspeare*, i. 174, 175, notes.

³ Act IV. sc. i. ll. 309—311.

his house and familie, his line and stocke was cleane consumed to ashes."¹

As the conspirators pass out to their punishment, the king turns to his lords, and cries :—

"Now, lords, for France; the enterprise whereof
Shall be to you, as us, like glorious.
We doubt not of a fair and lucky war;
Since God so graciously hath brought to light
This dangerous treason, lurking in our way,
To hinder our beginnings;—we doubt not now
But every rub is smoothened in our way."²

The *Chronicles*³ relate how, after the traitors were led forth for execution, "the king calling his lords againe afore him, said in words few, and with good grace. Of his enterprises he recounted the honor and glorie, whereof they with him were to be partakers, the great confidence he had in their noble minds, which could not but remember them of the famous feats that their ancestors aforetime in France had atchieved, whereof the due report for euer recorded remained yet in register. The great mercie of God that had so gratiouſlie revealed vnto him the treason at hand, whereby the true harts of those afore him [were] made so eminent & apparant in his cie, as they might be right sure he would neuer forget it."

The following passage in the *Chronicles*⁴ may be considered a sufficient authority for the council held by Charles VI. in order to concert measures for resisting the English invasion.⁵ "The French king being aduertised, that king Henrie was arrived on that coast, sent in all hast the lord de la Breth constable of France, the seneshall of France, the lord Bouciquart marshall of France, the seneshall of Henault, the lord Lignie with other, which fortified townes with men, victuals, and artillerie on all those frontiers towards the sea." The speeches are imaginary, the French king's words only—

"Whiles that his mountain sire,—on mountain standing,
Up in the air, crown'd with the golden sun,—
Saw his heroical seed, and smiled to see him
Mangle the work of nature, and deface
The patterns that by God, and by French fathers
Had twenty years been made."⁶

¹ Ch. 548/2/66. From *Hall*, p. 61.

² Act II. sc. ii. ll. 182—188.

³ Ch. 548/2/43. The speech in *Hall*, p. 61, differs substantially from the *Chronicles* version. It's querulous and distrustful.

⁴ Ch. 549/2/55. *Hall*, p. 62.

⁵ Act II. sc. iv.

⁶ Act II. sc. iv. ll. 57—62. There is a somewhat similar scene in the *Famous Victories*, Hazlitt's *Sh. Lib.* Pt. II. vol. i. pp. 356—359.

as well as the similar lines in Chicheley's speech,¹ being suggested by the account in the *Chronicles* of the battle of Crécy, where we read how Edward III. viewed the prowess of his son, "where he stood aloft on a windmill hill."² Shakspeare has made Exeter prefer Henry's claim to the crown, after the king had landed in France. "For he is footed in this land already" (l. 143). As we have seen, the embassy in which Exeter took part, was sent before preparations for war were begun. The *Chronicles*³ relate how Henry, ere leaving Southampton, "first princelie appointing to aduertise the French king of his coming, therefore dispatched Antelope, his pursueant at armes, with letters to him for restitution of that which he wrongfully withheld, contrarie to the lawes of God and man : the king further declaring how sorie he was that he should be thus compelled for repeating of his right and iust title of inheritance, to make warre to the destruction of Christian people, but sithens he had offered peace which could not be receiued, now for fault of iustice, he was forced to take armes. Neuerthelesse exhorted the French king *in the bowels of Iesu Christ*, to render him that which was his owne, whereby effusion of Christian bloud might be auoided." This letter has supplied Shakspeare with one line of Exeter's speech:

"And bids you, *in the bowels of the Lord*,
Deliver up the crown."⁴

On Sunday, Aug. 11, 1415, the wind being fair, Henry set sail.⁵ His fleet numbered about a thousand vessels. To the magnitude of the fleet,⁶ Shakspeare calls attention in the Prologue of Act III. l. 15: "A

¹ Act I. sc. ii. ll. 108—110.

² *Ch.* 372/2/26. The prince was hardly beset, and "sent a messengar to the kyng who was on a lytell wyndmill hill" to ask for help. Edward refused, and bade the messenger tell the earls of Warwick and Stafford, who had sent him, to suffer the prince "this day to wyne his spurres, for if God be pleased, I woll this journey be his and the honour therof and to them that be aboute hym."—Berner's *Froissart*, quoted in note to *Johannes's Froissart*, i. 157, ed. 1848.

³ 548/1/44. *Nous enhortons les entrailles de Jésus-Christ*.—Monstrelet, iii. 309. A translation of this letter, and two others written by Henry, taken by Nicolas from the *Histoire de Charles VI.*, ed. Laboureur, with Charles's answer to them, from *Des Ursins*, will be found in *Agincourt*, appendix, pp. 1—7. The dates run from April 7 to August 24, 1415.

⁴ Act II. sc. iv. l. 10a.

⁵ The royal ship was named *le Trinite*.—*Gesta*, p. 13.

⁶ The numbers given by different chroniclers vary from 1000 to 2000 ships. The above estimate is *Livius's*, p. 8, whom the *Chronicles* follow. Nicolas's estimates for the army are: about 2500 men-at-arms, 4000 horse-archers, 4000 foot-archers, and 10000 miners, gunners, artizans, labourers, &c. Each man-at-arms would be accompanied by his valette, and men of rank might bring each one or more servants, which would raise the total, say, to about 30,000.—*Agincourt*, p. 47, 48. Lists of the army will be found in *Agincourt*, pp. 333—363, and 373—389. On the 13th, the fleet anchored at a place called Kidecaws by the author of the *Gesta*, a headland of the Pays de Caux, distant about three miles from Harfleur. *Chiauf de Caulx*,

city on the inconstant billows dancing." Ll. 32—34 picture to us "the nimble gunner,"¹ who—

"With linstock now the devilish cannon touches,
And down goes all before them."

The *Chronicles*² mention "engins and ordinance," as used by Henry at Harfleur, and Elmham grandiloquently records the havoc caused by the cannon.

[The king's landing was unopposed. The French were, it would seem, taken by surprise. The landing-place was defended by fosse and rampart,—between the points where the cliff was too precipitous to be scaled, and a marsh lying in the direction of Harfleur,—but its guardians were absent. Plenty of rocks and stones available for missiles were at hand.³ If we may trust Elmham's pompous expressions, nobles and peasants alike fled panic-stricken to spread the news of the invasion.⁴ Reinforcements were thrown into Harfleur before the blockade was completed,⁵ but troops could not be collected in sufficient numbers to raise the siege.⁶ The utmost the French were then able to do was to guard other places in Normandy, and skirmish with the English when in quest of provisions. Just after apparently—there is a discrepancy in the date—the capture of Harfleur, a summons for a general muster was issued by Charles VI. and his council. The dissensions in France caused these delays. The nobles of Picardy disregarded a previous summons, because the duke of Burgundy had enjoined them to obey no order⁷ save his. Finally, the two great rivals, the dukes of Orleans according to the writer of the *Chronique de Normandie*, p. 168 (*Gesta*, pp. 167—203), and the editor of the *Gesta* explains in a note that Kidecaws is an English corruption of *chief* (or *chef*) de *Caux*; the headland or promontory of the Pays de Caux. —*Gesta*, p. 13.

¹ "The nimble gunner," and the "chambers" he let off caused the destruction of the Globe Theatre. "Vpon S. Peters day last" [1613] the Globe was burnt down "by negligent discharging of a peece of Ordnance, close to the South side thereof, the Thatch took fire," &c. The house was "filled with people, to behold the play, viz. of Henry the eight." No one was hurt. Stow's *Annales*, ed. Howes, 1631, p. 1003 (sign. I iii). It was rebuilt much more handsomely, witness the Water Poet:

"As gold is better than's in fier try'd,
So is the Bank-side *Globe*, that late was burn'd,
For where before it had a thatched hide,
Now to a stately theatre 'is turn'd."

—J. Taylor's *Skuller*, p. 31, Ep. xxii. *Variorum Shakspeare*, iii. 68.

² Ch. 549/2/73. Elmham, cap. xx.; *Liuius*, pp. 9, 10; and the *Gesta*, equip. v.—vii., describe the siege operations. Henry used cannon at the siege. Elmham speaks of the *grandia saxivoma, ab oris ignivomi faucibus miræ quantitatæ lapides afflatu vehementissimo et violencia mirabili expuencia*, their thundering reports, and the destruction and terror caused by them.—p. 43. The usual catapult and ballista were employed also.

³ *Gesta*, pp. 14, 15.

⁵ *Gesta*, p. 20.

⁶ *Monstrelet*, iii. 316.

⁴ *Elmham*, p. 37.

⁷ *Monstrelet*, iii. 312.

and Burgundy, were induced to send their forces for the support of the common cause, and the former headed them in person.¹

On the 17th of August, Henry appeared before Harfleur, and on the 19th the lines of circumvallation were drawn close.²] The siege was carried on chiefly by mining operations. This kind of warfare is, of course, quite unfitted for dramatic representation, and Shakspeare has therefore very properly departed from his authority here,³ and introduced Henry, cheering on his soldiers as if for a general assault. Some outworks,⁴ however, were taken by storm, and these words in the *Chronicles*,⁵ "And dailie was the towne assaulted," are, we shall most likely agree, warrant enough for the splendid speech beginning:—

"Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;
Or close the wall up with our English dead!"

[A contemporary chronicler⁶ records an address of Henry's to his men at the siege of Harfleur, which in its homely *naïveté* affords a curious contrast to Shakspeare's lofty rhetoric. The king said, "felowys, beþ a good chere, & ablowe yow & kele yow wel [be of good cheer, and take your breath, and cool yourselves well] & comynth vp alle with yowre ese, for wih þ^e loue of gode we schull haue good tydynges."—F. J. F.]

In assigning the direction of the mines to the duke of Gloucester,⁷ Shakspeare has followed the *Chronicles*. [Attempts to capture the place by mining were twice defeated by the enemy's countermines, and severe fighting took place underground. The English were, says Elmham,⁸ on account of the long truces, unskilled in this species of warfare. On the night of the 17th of September, an incessant shower of stones was hurled from the military engines upon Harfleur. The king intended to storm the town next day, and hoped thus to wear out the besieged.⁹ This led to negotiations for a truce.

In describing the capitulation the *Chronicles*¹⁰ follow Walsingham.¹¹ Finding the town was no longer defensible, the *custodes*¹² of Harfleur sent

¹ Monstrelet, iii. 325.

² *Gesta*, p. 20.

³ Act III. sc. i. ll. 1—34.

⁴ The capture of an outwork called "the bulwerke" is specially mentioned.—*Gesta*, p. 28.

⁵ *Ch.* 549/2/69.

⁶ Cott. Cleop. 4, leaf 22.

⁷ *Ch.* 549/2/70. Elmham, p. 42. *Livius*, p. 9.

⁸ Elmham, p. 45.

⁹ *Gesta*, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ch.* 550/1/17.

¹¹ *Walsingham*, ii. 308.

¹² Monstrelet says the seigneur d'Estoutville was the captain of Harfleur. Several other seigneurs,—whose names Monstrelet gives,—and many chevaliers, and squires, forming a garrison of about 400 men-at-arms, were in the town.—*Monstrelet*, iii. 313. One of these seigneurs—de Gaucourt—brought in the reinforcement for Harfleur, to which I have referred above. According to *Walsingham*, ii. 307, the seigneurs d'Estoutville, d'Hacqueville, and de Clere were *custodes* of Harfleur, and negotiated its surrender.

a sergeant-at-arms on the night of Tuesday the 17th of September, to the duke of Clarence, to request him to intercede with the king for the appointment of commissioners¹ on Henry's side to discuss with them the terms of surrender. They asked for a truce until the 6th of October, offering, if the king of France or the Dauphin did not raise the siege before that date, to give up the town, provided the garrison were allowed to depart unharmed in person and property. Henry at first demanded an unconditional surrender on the following morning, but afterwards yielded so far as to grant a truce, which was to last until one o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, September 22nd. Twenty-two knights, squires, and principal inhabitants of Harfleur were to become hostages, and it relief did not arrive before the truce expired, the town was to be surrendered, and the lives and goods of its inhabitants were to rest at Henry's mercy. According to other writers,² as the *Chronicles* have noticed, the terms agreed on were, that Harfleur should be surrendered if not relieved within six days, thirty men of rank were then to be delivered up to Henry, either for death or ransom, the garrison and citizens being permitted to depart without their arms and goods. These conditions were confirmed by the delivery of twelve hostages. The French were to be allowed in the mean while to send messages to King Charles and the Dauphin to ask for aid.]

The governor of Harfleur answers Henry's summons to surrender in these words :—

"The Dauphin, whom of succours we entreated,
Returns us—that *his powers are yet not ready,*
To raise so great a siege."³

"The lord Bacquevil⁴ was," we learn from the *Chronicles*,⁵ "sent unto the French king, to declare in what point the towne stood. To whome the Dolphin answered, that *the kings power was not yet assembled, in such number as was convenient to raise so great a siege.*" The duke of Exeter received the governorship of Harfleur.⁶

¹ The commissioners appointed were, the earl of Dorset [Exeter], Lord Fitz Hugh, and Sir Thomas Erpingham. — *Walsingham*, ii. 308.

² *Elmhurst*, p. 47. *Liutus*, pp. 10, 11.

³ Act III. sc. iii. ll. 45–47.

⁴ Guillaume Martel, seigneur de Bacqueville, one of the defenders of Harfleur, was afterwards killed at Agincourt. He bore the Oriflamme, which was then displayed for the last time. It was of bright scarlet, with several swallow tails. — *Agincourt*, p. 115, and note, and *Monstrelet*, iii. 313. The Oriflamme and some other banners borne at Agincourt are engraved in *Agincourt*, p. 330.

⁵ *Ch.* 550/1/68. *Hall*, p. 62; *Monstrelet*, iii. 316.

⁶ *Ch.* 550/2/31. *Hall*, p. 62. His lieutenant was Sir John Fastolf, whom we meet with in *Henry V.* Pt. I. *Monstrelet* calls the governor appointed by Henry *sire Jean-le-Blond, Chevalier*. — *ili.* 327.

[As the winter was approaching, the king resolved to close the campaign, and march to Calais.¹ The latter step was attended with peril, for his forces were greatly diminished by sickness,² and a large French army was collected to bar his progress. Moreover, "The French king hearing that the town of Harfleur was gotten, and that the king of England was marching³ forward into the bowels of the realm

¹ While at Harfleur Henry formally challenged the Dauphin either to acknowledge his title, or meet him in single combat; the succession to the French throne after the death of Charles VI. was to fall to the victor. See the *Gesta*, pp. 34, 35, and the challenge from the *Federa* in the appendix to *Agincourt*, p. 29. Receiving no answer within the time limited, the king held a council,—on the 5th of October as Nicolas conjectures, *Agincourt*, p. 73,—to consider whether he should return at once to England by sea, or march overland to Calais. He decided on the latter course on the ground that he wished to see his dominions, was under divine protection, and must not suffer the enemy to accuse him of losing his right through fear.—*Livius*, p. 12. Nicolas has collected and considered the estimates of the army which marched to Agincourt. They are hopelessly at variance,—the French being of course much larger than the English. Taking the roll of those who were present at Agincourt as a guide, Nicolas's estimate is from 6000 to 9000 fighting men.—*Agincourt*, pp. 74—78.

It is doubtful whether Henry quitted Harfleur on the 1st of October, as the writer of a brief itinerary in *Hardyng*, pp. 389—391, and some MS. authorities state, or on the 8th, according to the *Gesta*. See *Agincourt*, p. 81, and note. If the former are right, Henry must have taken ten days to get from Harfleur to Arques, a distance of about forty miles, for from the *Gesta* it appears that he was at Arques on the 11th. For the details of the march, see *Agincourt*, pp. 81—104; and the *Gesta*, Englished by Nicolas, pp. 219—243, compared with other chroniclers, and illustrated with notes.

² Both besieged and besiegers suffered from dysentery, but the English more severely. *Sive calore inassueto perusti, seu potacioni post graves sudores indiscrete dediti, vel crudarum carniū esu negligentī sapius saturati, in ventris fluxum gravissimum sunt defecti*.—*Elmhām*, p. 44. Walsingham also says, *Durante obsidione regali, plures ex usu fructuum et algore noctium, fatoreque cadaverum diversarum pecudum, quas mactare per castrorum circuitum, et non operuerant cespitiū sive terra, nec iniecerant in aquis fluvialitibus, ut eorum putridas exhalationes tollerent, fluxu ventris vel dysenteria periere*.—ii. 309.

Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich, who was much beloved by the king, died from this disease; and the duke of Clarence and many other men of rank had licence to return to England on account of it.—*Gesta*, pp. 26, 27, and *Elmhām*, p. 50. The *Chronicles*, 553/2/74, following *Hall*, p. 68, make the duke of Clarence present at Agincourt. A contemporary biography of the comte de Richemont, afterwards duke of Brittany, who was taken prisoner at Agincourt, states that Henry saved his brother Clarence's life in the battle.—*Agincourt*, p. 267, note. *Elmhām*, p. 67, and *Livius*, p. 20,—the latter is followed by the *Chronicles*, 555/2/65,—tell this story of the duke of Gloucester.

³ Walsingham has summed up the hardships of the march. On reaching their camping-places the English used to find that the enemy had carried off all the provisions. Bread ran short, and most people had to content themselves with filberts and dried or roast meat, *avellaniis nucibus et assis carniū*. For about eight or ten days (the march lasted twenty, according to this writer,) water was the only drink for the poorer soldiers, and even this became scarce on the eve of the battle. The march, which was impeded by the broken-down bridges, was wearisome; the men were worn out with watching, a

of France, sent out proclamations, and assembled people on euerie side, committing the whole charge of his armie to his sonne the Dolphine and duke of Aquitaine, who incontinentlie caused the bridges to be broken, and the passages to be kept. Also they caused all the corne and vittels to be conueied awaie, or destroyed in all places, where it was coniectured that the Englishmen would passe."¹

Harassed by attacks from the garrisons² passed on the route, Henry pushed steadily onward till "he came to the passage of Blanchtake [on the Somme] where his great grandfather king Edward the third a little before had striken the battell of Cressie."³ Finding the ford staked, and the French mustered to oppose him, Henry marched patiently on, skirting the river, and dogged by the enemy on the opposite bank, who the *Chronicles*⁴ say "euer kept the passages, and coasted aloofe, like a hauke though eager yet not hardie on hir preie." This vigilance however was at last eluded, and the English crossed near Nesle.⁵

At this point we rejoin the order of Shakspeare's play. Sc. v. opens with these words of the French king, addressed to his nobles, "'Tis certain he hath pass'd the river Somme." The *Chronicles*⁶ relate how

vigiliis macerati, and chilled by the night frosts.—ii. 370. The army took eight days' provisions. At Arques, Boves, and in the neighbourhood of Eu, bread and wine was obtained by threatening to burn the villages.—*Gesta*, p. 42. The *Chronicles*, 552/1/37, following *Hall*, p. 64, say that the peasants, hearing of Henry's justice in punishing a robber who stole a pyx, willingly supplied the English with provisions. The English marched in three columns, *acies principes*, with two wings, *alas, ut moris est*.—*Elmham*, p. 51; *ut consueverunt Angli*.—*Livius*, p. 12.

² *Ch.* 551/1/3. *Hall*, p. 63, is the *Chronicles*' authority. Monstrelet gives the proclamation of Charles VI., dated Meulan, Sept. 20, for a general muster; *notre très cher et très aimé fils le duc d'Aquitaine* [the Dauphin] is called in it *notre lieutenant et capitaine général*.—iii. 322.

³ Sallics were made by the French from Eu, Oct. 12; from Corbie, Oct. 17; and from Peronne, Oct. 21.—*Gesta*, pp. 37, 41, 45.

⁴ *Ch.* 551/1/25. *Hall*, p. 63. Monstrelet says that Henry *avoit volenté de passer la rivière de Somme à la Blanch-Tache, où jadis passa son aïeul Edouard, roi d'Angleterre, quand il gagna la bataille de Crécy, contre le roi Philippe-de-Flois*.—iii. 328.

⁵ *Ch.* 551/1/39. The *Chronicles* are here following; *Hall*, p. 64, save in their mention of the staking of the ford, which is derived from another source. *Fleming*, p. 52, and *Livius*, p. 13, record it. *Hall*'s authority is Monstrelet; *cf.* especially the words, *Et toujours lesdits François cōvoient par Eentre le de la Somme*, iii. 229, 230, which suggested to him the hawk simile.

⁶ *Gesta*, pp. 43, 44. The order and rapidity with which the army was passed over showed Henry's military skill. The French had broken up the roads leading to the two fords. A body of the enemy's horse appeared on the opposite bank during the passage, but soon retired.

⁷ *Ch.* 552/1/42. *Hall*, p. 64. Monstrelet is the authority, iii. 330. He does not, however, mention Montjoy's mission. The earl of Ponthieu was the Dauphin whom we meet with in *Henry VI.* Pt. I.; afterwards Charles VII. The Dauphin of this play died in 1415.

Charles VI.—who was then at Rouen—held a council “to the number of five and thirtie,” the Dauphin, the dukes of Berry and Brittany, and the earl of Ponthieu being present; to consider whether Henry should be suffered to reach Calais unmolested, or not. The latter course was resolved on, by a majority of thirty. “So Montioy king at armes was sent to the king of England to defie him as theemie of France, and to tell him that he should shortlie haue battell.” The names of the French nobles, whose patriotism is invoked in ll. 40—45, were taken by Shakspeare from a list given by the *Chronicles*¹ of those who were slain or captured at Agincourt. To these he added the names of Burgundy [Jean sans Peur] and Charolois [Philippe le Bon, afterwards duke of Burgundy]. Charles VI. calls upon his captains to bring Harry of England “in a captiue chariot into Rouen.”² The *Chronicles*³ have recorded how on the eve of Agincourt, “The noblemen had deuised a chariot, where-in they might triumphantlie conueie the king captiue to the cite of Paris, crieng to their soldiers: ‘Haste you to the spoile, glorie and honor.’”

As Sc. v. closes, Charles VI. says to the Dauphin: “Prince Dauphin, you shall stay with us in Rouen.”⁴ “The Dolphin,” we are told, “sore desired to haue beene at the battell, but he was prohibited by his father.”⁵

Sc. vi. introduces us again to Fluellen, who praises the valour of the duke of Exeter in the defence of a bridge.⁶ This was the bridge over the Ternoise, a river which had yet to be passed. Henry, fearing lest the enemy might check his advance by breaking down the bridge, sent forward some troops to seize it. When the detachment arrived the work of destruction had already been begun, and a sharp engagement ensued which ended in the repulse of the French.⁷ As the *Chronicles* merely say that “certeine capteins with their bands” were sent to secure the bridge, Shakspeare was quite at liberty to give the command to whom he pleased.⁸

¹ Ch. 555/2/30.

² Act III. sc. v. l. 54.

³ Ch. 554/1/7. Hall, p. 68.

⁴ Act III. sc. v. l. 64.

⁵ Ch. 552/1/72. Hall, p. 65. Monstrelet says that the Dauphin would have gone in spite of his father, but King Louis of Sicily and the duke of Berry prevented him.—iii. 337. Louis II., duke of Anjou, titular king of Naples and Sicily, was the son of Charles the Sixth's eldest uncle, and father of René, duke of Anjou, whose daughter Margaret married Henry VI. The duke of Berry was Charles the Sixth's uncle. The comte de Charolois, meeting with the same prohibition from his father, *se retrahit en sa chambre, très fort pleurant*.—iii. 333.

⁶ Act III. sc. vi. ll. 1—12.

⁷ Ch. 552/2/3.

⁸ The *Chronicles* do not give the name of the river. Hall omits this incident altogether. *Elmhurst*, p. 56, and *Livius*, p. 15, record it. In the *Gesta*, p. 46, the river is called *fluvium Gladiorum*. In the *Chronique de Normandie*, p. 170, it is spoken of as *riviere qui court a Blangy en Tenoy*. Neither of these last-named authorities mention the engagement at the bridge.

We here part company with poor Bardolph, for the details of whose exit Shakspeare availed himself of the following story in the *Chronicles*:¹ "A souldiour tooke a pix out of a church, for which he was apprehended, & the king not once remooued till the box was restored, and the offender strangled." The *Chronicles*² affirm that the English paid for everything they took, and this was the only outrage committed on the march. To Fluellen, who tells him of Bardolph's crime and its punishment, Henry answers: "We would have all such offenders so cut off:—and we give express charge, that, in our marches through the country, there be nothing compelled from the villages, nothing taken but paid for, none of the French upbraided or abused in disdainful language."³ This—the ideally perfect state of things—is, certainly, well provided for by the injunction I have just quoted; but Shakspeare has not committed himself to a statement of its exact fulfilment. The king speaks in the present tense, the *Chronicles*,⁴ however, record how on Henry's "first coming on land, he caused proclamation to be made, that no person should be so hardie on paine of death, either to take anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the same, or to hurt or doo any violence either to priests, women, or anie such as should be found without weapon or armor, and not readie to make resistance."

While Henry is thus conversing with Fluellen, Montjoy—who, as we have seen, had been sent by Charles VI. to defy King Harry—enters, and delivers his master's message. The terms in which Montjoy's defiance is couched are not given in the *Chronicles*. The king replied: "Mine intent is to doo as it pleaseth God, I will not seeke your maister at this time; but if he or his seeke me, I will meet with them, God willing. If anie of your nation attempt once to stop me in my iournie now towards Calis, at their ieopardie be it; and yet wish I not anie of you so vnadvised, as to be the occasion that *I die your tawnie ground with your red blood*."⁵

Shakspeare copied the last words of Henry's answer almost *verbatim*.

¹ *Ch.* 552/1/34. The discovery was made just after the skirmish at Charlie on the 17th of October. Combining the accounts of *Elmhurst*, p. 53, and *Littell*, p. 13, we find that the king at once ordered a halt; the offender, after sentence passed upon him, was paraded before the whole army, and finally hung near the church which he had robbed. The sacred vessel was restored. The author of the *tiesa* adds that the pyx being copper-gilt, the thief may have taken it for gold. He hid it in his sleeve, p. 41. According to *Hall*, p. 64, he ate the host, but for this I can find no authority. There was an express provision against the theft of a pyx in the disciplinary regulations for the army issued by Henry on his landing.—*Elmhurst*, p. 39. See also the original ordinances published at Mantua by Henry.—*Agincourt*, appendix, p. 31.

² *Ch.* 552/1/30.

³ Act III. sc. vi. ll. 113–118.

⁴ *Ch.* 549/2/27. These ordinances are recorded by *Elmhurst*, p. 39, and *Littell* p. 8.

⁵ *Ch.* 552, 1, 57.

"If we may pass, we will; if we be hinder'd,
We shall *your tawny ground with your red blood*
Discolour."¹

The ransom which Montjoy asks for in his master's name, was, as the *Chronicles*² state, demanded by a herald who appeared before Henry just before the battle began. "There's for thy labour, Montjoy," says the king, as he bids the herald farewell. Montjoy, we read, was dismissed with "a princelie reward."³ Before ending my comments on this scene, I must remark that, according to the *Chronicles*,⁴ Montjoy delivered the defiance to Henry after the passage of the Somme,⁵ not, as Shakspeare has represented, on the evening before the battle, after the second river, the Ternoise, had been crossed.

[To resume the historical narrative. After crossing the Ternoise, the duke of York, who commanded the van-guard, was warned by a scout that the French army was at hand. The duke informed the king, who, directing the centre division—which he led himself—to halt, rode forward to view the enemy. The English—as we learn from the author of the *Gesta*⁶—passed the bridge as quickly as possible, and upon attaining an eminence on the other side of the river, beheld the French army approaching them. The French halted about half a mile opposite, filling the wide-stretching plain like a swarm of locusts.⁷ Fearing an attack, Henry drew up his army in battle array. The short autumn evening

¹ Act III. sc. vi. ll. 169—171.

² *Ch.* 554/1/14.

³ *Ch.* 552/1/66.

⁴ He seems to have been sent immediately after the council of war at Rouen had decided on giving Henry battle. On Montjoy's return with Henry's answer, it was "proclaimed, that all men of warre should resort to the constable to fight with the king of England."—*Ch.* 552/1/68. Then follows the account of the engagement at the bridge over the Ternoise.

⁵ From *Elmham*, pp. 54, 55, and *Livius*, pp. 13, 14, we learn that after the passage of the Somme the French generals, considering the enfeebled condition of the English army, exhausted by sickness, hunger, and the fatigues of a long march, thought the time was now come to challenge Henry to battle. Three heralds (*feciales, quos eorum lingua vocant araldos*,—*Livius*, p. 14) appeared before the king, and told him that he should have battle before reaching Calais. To which Henry replied, "The will of the Lord be done." The heralds desired to know by what route the king would advance. He answered that he should keep the straight course to Calais; if his enemies obstructed his path it must be at their own peril, he would not seek them, neither would he slacken or hasten his march on their account. He exhorted them, adds *Livius*, not to oppose him, nor seek for such an effusion of Christian blood. This speech in *Elmham* and *Livius* differs verbally but not in substance. The *Chronicles* follow Hall, who seems to have read *Livius*'s version, but has heightened its effect with his—"I in my defence shall colour and make redde your tawny grounde with the deathes of your selves," &c., p. 64. A hundred gold crowns, French money, were given to the heralds.—*Livius*, p. 14.

⁶ *Gesta*, p. 46.

⁷ *Agrum replentes latissimum, sicuti in innumerabili multitudine locustarum.*—*Gesta*, p. 46.

was succeeded by a darkness so intense that a man could scarcely see his hand. The English then resumed their march, seeking for a camping place.¹ The country was unknown to them, but they fortunately chanced "vpon a beaten waie white in sight"² which led to a little village,—Agincourt, or Maisonnelles.³ Here the camp was pitched.] "Order was taken by commandement from the king after the armie was first set in battell arraie, that no noise or clamor should be made in the host; so that in marching forth to this village, euerie man kept himselfe quiet."⁴ In Act IV. sc. i. ll. 65—72, after the English are supposed to be encamped, Fluellen is introduced, scolding Gower for speaking louder than Pompey's regulations permitted. Certainly the English were great transgressors of "the laws of the wars," if, as Hall⁵ relates: "The Englishmen that night sounded their trumpettes and diuerse instrumentes Musicall with greate melody, and yet they were bothe hungry, wery, sore traueled and much vexed with colde diseases."

For the jesting, swaggering talk between the Dauphin and the French nobles in Sc. vii., Shakspeare had merely a hint from the *Chronicles*.⁶ "They [the French] were lodged euen in the waie by the which the Englishmen must needs passe towards Calis, and all that night after their comming thither, made great cheare and were verie merrie, pleasant and full of game." Rambures proposes to go to hazard for twenty Englishmen.⁷ The *Chronicles*⁸ state that "the Frenchmen in the meane

¹ *Ch.* 552/2/18. The *Chronicles* follow *Elmhams*, pp. 56—59, or *Livius*, pp. 15, 16, in their account of the discovery of the French army, and the subsequent night march. *Elmhams* mentions the intense darkness which came on, p. 58, which is not noticed in the *Chronicles*.

² *Ch.* 552/2/37. *Cujusdam strata candida*.—*Elmhams*, p. 58; *ultra quedam via*.—*Livius*, p. 15.

³ *Un petit village nommé Maisonnelles*.—*Monstrelet*, iii. 335.

⁴ *Ch.* 552/2/42. The soldiers were ordered by Henry to abstain *à tumults* *ipso*, *qui antea in exercitu suo fieri magno clamore solebat*.—*Elmhams*, p. 58.

⁵ *Hall*, p. 65. He has englished *Monstrelet*. *Et lesdits Anglois en toute celle nuit sonnèrent leurs trompettes et plusieurs manières d'instruments de musique, tellement que toute la terre entour d'eux retentissoit par leurs sons; nonobstant qu'ils fussent moult lassés et travaillés de faim, de froit, et autres manières*.—iii. 335, 336.

⁶ *Ch.* 552/2/59. *Hall*, p. 65.

⁷ Act III. sc. vii. ll. 92, 94.

⁸ *Ch.* 554/1/3. *Hall*, p. 68. *Monstrelet* says the French nobles on reaching their camping ground, *fichèrent leurs hennières en grand liesse*.—iii. 335. The earliest authority for the dice-playing is a passage in the *Gesta*, p. 49. *Et ut diceretur tam securos se reputabant* [the French] *de nobis, quod regem nostrum et nobiles suos nocte illa sub jactu aleæ pauperunt*. *Hall*, whom the *Chronicles* cite, may have followed Caxton (*Chron.* ed. 1482, sign. t. 6, back), " / & al nyght to fore the batall the frenschmen made many grette syres, and moche reuel with haunting and shewtyng and playde oure kyng & his lordes at the diso / & an archer alwey for a blank of hir money / For they wendun al had been heres" / See also the *Famous Victories*, Hazlitt's *Sh. Lib.* Pt. II. vol. i. pp. 361, 362.

while" (on the morning of the battle, just before the armies closed) "as though they had beene sure of victorie, made great triumph, for the capteins had determined before, how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiars the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice." While these facetious gentlemen¹ are chaffing one another, a messenger enters, and says—"My lord high constable, the English lie within fifteen hundred paces of your tents."² According to the *Chronicles*,³ the French encamped "not past two hundred and fiftie paces distant from the English." As the scene closes, the Constable lays it down as a rule concerning our countrymen—"give them great meals of beef, and iron and steel, they will eat like wolves, and fight like devils." "Ay," replies Orleans, "but these English are shrewdly out of beef." "Then," says the Constable, "shall we find to-morrow, they have only stomachs to eat, and none to fight." Hall⁴ gives the Constable a brisk and cheery speech, addressed to his men on the morning of the battle. The victory, they were told, must be easy. "For you must understand, y^e kepe an Englishman one moneth from his warme bed, fat befe and stale drynke, and let him that season tast colde and suffre hunger, you then shall se his courage abated, his bodye waxe leane and bare, and euer desirous to returne into his owne cuntry."⁵ The "stale drynke" is, I presume, our ale, which he once libellously called

² The speeches in this scene assigned to the Dauphin by the folio are in the 4to given to Bourbon. See Mr. Daniel's remarks on this point in his introduction to the *Parallel Texts of Henry V.*, p. xiii. The Dauphin was not present at Agincourt. The duke of Bourbon, who fought there, was taken prisoner.

³ Act III. sc. vii. ll. 135, 136.

⁴ Ch. 552/249. The French *ducentos & quinquaginta passus vix distabant ab Anglicis*.—Livius, p. 16. *Vix distancia unius quartæ miliaris Anglici*.—Elmhams, p. 59. *Velut infra spatium milliarit*.—Walsingham, ii. 310. *Trois traits d'arc ou environ*.—Monstrelet, iii. 335. According to the last-named writer the French were encamped at Ruissauville and Azincourt, the English at Maisonceles.—iii. 334. But Nicolas says that Ruissauville is two miles and a half; Azincourt rather more than a mile from Maisonceles.—*Agincourt*, p. 107, note. Perhaps the distance between the outposts is meant.

⁵ Hall, p. 66. This speech was delivered when the French were "only waityng for the bloudy blast of the terrible trumpet."—p. 65.

⁶ This was perhaps a standard French joke, for we find Alençon saying of the English, "They want their porridge and their fat bull-beeves."—*1 Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 9; and King John thus ridicules Edward the Third's soldiers:—

"And what, I pray you, is his goodly guard?
Such as, but scant them of their chines of beef,
And take away their downy feather beds,
And presently they are as resty-stiff
As 'twere a many over-ridden jades."

King Edward III., Act III. sc. iii. See also the *Famous Victories*, Hazlitt's *Sh. Lib.* Pt. II. vol. i. p. 362. The writer had evidently read Hall's speech.

"sodden water,
A drench for sur-reined jades."¹

When, in the prologue of Act IV., we read—

"The hum of either army stilly sounds,
That the fixed sentinels almost receive
The secret whispers of each other's watch :"²

we are reminded of the short distance between the hostile camps,—only 250 paces, according to the *Chronicles*.

"Steed threatens steed, in high and boastful neighs,
Piercing the night's dull ear ;"³

is a line which one would feel safe in writing, yet it is a curious fact, recorded by Monstrelet⁴ and St. Remy,—the latter was present with the English army, and his observation was confirmed by a friend's who was serving in the French army,—that hardly a single horse was heard to neigh in the French camp during the night. Of the "poor condemned English," with their "lank-lean cheeks and warworn coats," who sit brooding over the watch-fires, the *Chronicles*⁵ thus speak : "The Englishmen also for their parts were of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter, and yet they were both hungrie, wearie, sore trauelled, and vexed with manie cold diseases. Howbeit reconciling themselves with God by hoosell and shrift, requiring assistance at his hands that is the onelic giuer of victorie, they determined rather to die, than to yeeld, or flee." The "watchful fires" answering one another, through whose

"paly flames
Each battle sees the other's umber'd face,"⁶

had been kindled as soon as the English reached their camping place, after the night march I have already described. "At their coming; into the village [Agincourt or Maisonnelles] fiers were made to giue light on euerie side, as their likewise were in the French host."⁷

¹ Act III. sc. v. ll. 18, 19.

² *Id.* 3-7.

³ *Id.* 10, 11.

⁴ *Monstrelet*, iii. 335. It was considered a bad omen for the French, *de la quelle chose chacun avoient grants merveilles, et n'y prenoient pas bon pied les Français, et aucuns en disoient comme lendemain en advint.*—St. Remy, viii. 2. St. Remy's friend was *messire Jean, le bâtard de Waurin, seigneur de Forestel*.

⁵ *Ch.* 552/2/63. *Hall*, p. 65. *Walsingham*, ii. 310, is perhaps his authority.

⁶ *Prol.* l. 23 ; ll. 8, 9.

⁷ *Ch.* 552/2/46. *Elmhams*, p. 59, and *Livius*, p. 16, mention the lighting of watch-fires on both sides. About midnight the moon shone brightly, and the king then ordered some knights to explore the battle-field, and fix upon the positions his troops were to occupy in the ensuing conflict.—*Elmhams*, p. 59.

On the *dramatis personæ* in Act IV., it must be remarked that Exeter had been left in charge of Harfleur. The *Chronicles* state this, but afterwards inadvertently introduce him as commanding the rear-guard at Agincourt.¹ Bedford² was regent in England; and Westmoreland, we learn from the *Chronicles*, was appointed "to keepe the frontiers and marches of Scotland," because Henry "thought good to take order for the resisting of the Scots, if (according to their maner) they should attempt anie thing against his subiects in his absence."³ Neither Warwick⁴ nor Salisbury are mentioned by the *Chronicles* as present at Agincourt. About the latter I cannot speak positively,—he is the Salisbury⁵ we meet with again in *Henry VI.* Pt. 1.

In the first scene of this Act Sir Thomas Erpingham enters, to whom the king lovingly says:—

"Good morrow, old Sir Thomas Erpingham;
A good soft pillow for that good white head
Were better than a churlish turf of France."⁶

When the two armies faced each other on the morning of the memorable 25th of October, the French hesitated and held back. Henry at last determined to attack them, and thereupon the English advanced, "before whome," we read, "there went an old knight sir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the warre) with a warder in his hand; and when he cast up his warder, all the armie shouted,"⁷ &c.

Passing over for the present the converse between Henry and his soldiers, with the king's soliloquy, the historical facts to be noticed in this scene are, the transference—recorded by the *Chronicles*⁸—of Richard the Second's body from Langley to Westminster—"I Richard's body have interred new;"⁹ and Henry's almsdeeds in his memory—"Five

¹ Ch. 553/1/63.

² His grant of office is in the Patent Rolls: *Secunda Patent de Anno 3^o Regis Henrici Quinti. Johannes Dux Bedford^{us} custos regni Anglias ac ejus potestas.*—Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 265. b. 41.

³ Ch. 548/1/22.

⁴ Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. He distinguished himself afterwards in Henry's French wars, and on the death of the regent Bedford was made lieutenant-general of France and Normandy.—Collin's *Peerage*, ii. 397, ed. 1714. Oeland gives him the command of the left wing at Agincourt.—*Anglorum Prælia*, 1582, sign. e. 3, back.

⁵ Thomas de Montacute, earl of Salisbury. He gained great distinction as a general in the French wars of Henry the Sixth's reign. Was killed at the siege of Orleans, in 1428.—*Henry VI.*, Pt. 1, Act I. sc. iv.

⁶ l. l. 13—15.

⁷ Ch. 554/1/53.

⁸ Ch. 543/2/57. The body "was honorable interred with queene Anne his first wife [Anne of Bohemia], in a solemne toorne erected and set vp at the charges of this king [Richard II.]." And see Stow, *Annales*, p. 560, ed. 1605.

⁹ Act IV. sc. i. l. 312.

hundred poor I have in yearly pay,"¹ mentioned by Fabyan² and Stow. Moreover, the king pleads :—

" I have built
Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
Sing still for Richard's soul."³

We now return to the French camp. The sun has risen, and the nobles, full of vaunting confidence, are bestirring themselves for the conflict. The Constable delivers a boastful harangue, then Grandpré⁴ rushing in, upbraids their tardiness. As they go out, the Constable exclaims :—

" I stay but for my guidon. To the field :
I will the banner from a trumpet take,
And use it for my haste."⁵

"They thought themselves so sure of victorie," say the *Chronicles*,⁶

¹ L. 315.

² *Fabyan*, (ed. Ellis, p. 577.) says—"After a solemne terment there holden, he prouyd that .iiii. tapers shoulde brenne daye and nyght about his graue, whyle the world endureth ; and one day in the weke a solemne dirige, and vpon the morowe a masse of Requiem by note ; after which masse enytil, to be gyuen weekly vnto poore people .xl. s. viii. d. in pens : & vpon y^e day of his anniuersary, after y^e sayd masse of Requiem is songe, to be yerely distributed for his soule .xx. li in .d."—P. A. D. To the same effect Caxton (*Chron.* sign. u. 5) and Stow, *Annales*, p. 566, ed. 1605.

³ Ll. 317—319. In 1414 Henry founded three religious houses at Shene (now Richmond, Surrey) ; one for Brigettine nuns, the other two for Carthusian and Celestine monks.—*Walsingham*, ii. 300. Elmham and Livius mention two foundations only, for Carthusian monks and Brigettine nuns. The former the king named Bethlehem, the latter Syon.—*Elmham*, p. 25 ; *Livius*, p. 5. Shene had been a favourite residence of Richard II. The *Chronicles* do not mention these foundations, but Stow (*Annales*, p. 559, ed. 1605) has recorded them, and Shakespeare may have taken the fact which suggested ll. 317—319 from him. Bethlehem and Syon survived the dissolution of the religious houses. The inmates of the former settled at Mechlin, and the nuns finally established themselves at Lisbon. See Robinson's *Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon*, 1622, rep. in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, pp. 328, 329. Fabyan says that the pope, when Henry IV. applied to him for absolution for Richard's death, took the king cause continual prayers to be offered up so that Richard's soul might live, whose body Henry had deprived of life. "Whiche penance, for that his sader by his lyfe dyd not perforce, this goostly knyght [Henry V.] in most halowidinnat maner perforce myd it, for first he buyldyd iii houses of relygyon, as the Charterhouse of monkes called Shene, the house of close nunnes called Syon, and the thirde was an house of Observauntes buyldyd vpon that other syde of Thamys."—*Fabyan*, ed. Ellis, p. 566. From Caxton (*Chron.* u. 5, back, & u. 6) it would seem that Henry founded these two houses (the Observants are not mentioned) for his own soul.

⁴ Act IV. so. ii. l. 38.

⁵ Ll. 60, 62.

⁶ Ch. 554/26. The *Chronicles*' authority is *Livius*, p. 17. Elmham, who adds that the duke was slain, also records the same incident, p. 63. *Antoine, duc de Bourbon* . . . accompagné de petit nombre se bouta entre ladite avant-garde [the van which the English had routed] et bataille [the centre division]. Et pour la grand' hâte qu'il avoit eue avoit laissé ses gens derrière : mais sans délai il fut mis à mort dedits Anglais.—Monstrelet, iii. 343. The duke was the brother of Jean sans Peur, duke of Burgundy.

"that diuerse of the noble men made such haste towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards : as amongst other the duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him in steed of his standard."

In the next scene we find the English lords bidding each other adieu, ere each goes to his post. Sensible of the danger they are in, they speak modestly, but yet resolutely. "The king," says Bedford, "himself is rode to view their battle."¹ [Henry, we learn from Elmham,² rode a noble horse, as white as snow. The same chronicler thus describes his appearance : "Now the king was clad in secure and very bright armour : he wore, also, on his head, a helmet, with a large splendid crest, and a crown of gold and jewels ; and, on his body, a surcoat with the arms of England and France, from which a celestial splendour issued ; on the one side, from three golden flowers, planted in an azure field, on the other, from three golden leopards sporting in a ruby field."'] Westmoreland's³ estimate of the enemy's numbers is that which the *Chronicles*⁴ give, "threescore thousand horssemen, besides footmen, wagoners and other." The wish ascribed by Shakspeare to Westmoreland,

"O that we now had here
But one ten thousand of those men in England
That do no work to-day,"⁵

was uttered, according to the *Chronicles*, by an indefinite "one of the host," and was as follows : "I would to God there were with vs now so manie good soldiers as are at this houre within England !" ⁶ We know

¹ Act IV. sc. iii. l. 2.

² *Persona vero regia, induta secuta & lucidissima armatura, capud eciam immensi iubaris claritate circumamicta resplendenti gulea, quam corona aurea, fulgurantis gemmarum preciosa correa, circulus circumcinxit, armorum Angliæ & Franciæ circumornatur tunica. In qua istac trium forum aureorum, in agro plantarum azureo, splendor sydereus emicabat ; illac vero tres leopardi aurei, in agro lusculententes purpureo, apparatus regium non modicum solemnizant.*—pp. 60, 61. Led horses with rich trappings followed him.—p. 61. The passage in the text was englished by Knight in his Introductory Notice to Henry V., *Pictorial Shakspeare*.

³ Act IV. sc. iii. l. 3.

⁴ *Ch.* 552/57. The *Chronicles* cite Monstrelet in the margin, but he says that the French numbered *bien cent cinquante mille chevaucheurs*.—iii. 335. Further on he remarks that the French were *bien en nombre six fois autant que les Anglois*.—iii. 338 ; a statement which Hall follows, p. 65.

⁵ Act IV. sc. iii. ll. 16—18.

⁶ *Ch.* 553/45. *Livius*, pp. 16, 17. Elmham says that the king overheard *quorundam optantes ut quicumque proceres regni Angliæ ad hoc beneuoli huic negotio nutu deifico interessent*.—p. 61. The speech he assigns Henry, though like in substance, differs verbally from *Livius*'s version, which the *Chronicles* have englished.

from the author of the *Gesta Henrici Regis*, who was present, that the speaker was Sir Walter Hungerford.¹

The king's answer—which I shall transcribe—differs, as we shall see, not only verbally, but in substance, from Shakspeare's version. Henry said: "I would not wish a man more here than I haue, we are indeed in comparison of the enimies but a few, but if God of his clemencie doo fauour vs, and our iust cause (as I trust he will) we shall speed well inough. But let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strength and might, but onelie to Gods assistance, to whome I haue no doubt we shall worthilie haue cause to give thanks therefore. And if so be that for our offenses sakes we shall be deliuered into the hands of our enimies, *the lesse number we be, the lesse damage shall the realme of England susteine*: but if we should fight in trust of multitude of men, and so get the victorie (our minds being prone to pride) we should therevpon peraduenture ascribe the victorie not so much to the gift of God, as to our owne puissance, and thereby prouoke his high indignation and displeasure against vs: and if the enimie get the vpper hand, then should our realme and countrie suffer more damage and stand in further danger. But be you of good comfort, and shew your selues valiant. God and our iust quarrell shall defend vs, and deliuer these our proud aduersaries with all the multitude of them which you see (or at the least the most of them) into our hands."²

The passage italicized, which corresponds with --

"If we are mark'd to die, we are enow
To do our country loss,"³

forms the sum of Shakspeare's borrowings here. The contrast between the tone of this speech and Shakspeare's is remarkable. The theme of one is the over-ruling power of God,—he alone awards victory to whom he pleases, and mortal men must not venture to claim a share in the triumph. In the other the king dwells solely upon the honour he and his comrades will win for themselves, if victorious, and only uses God's name, or Jove's, to swear by. The key-note of the Holinshed speech is the sentence, "let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strength and might, but onelie to Gods assistance;" of Shakspeare's, "The fewer men the greater share of honour." Yet Henry's piety is often brought

¹ *Gesta*, p. 47. Sir Walter wished for ten thousand *de mellioribus sagittariis Angliæ*. The king said: *Stultè loqueris, quia per Deum celi, ejus annuus sum gratia, et in quo est mihi spes firma victoria, nollem habere et si possem plures per unum quam habeo. Nam hic, quem habeo, Dei populus est, et quem me hæc vice dignatum habere. An non credis, Omnipotentem in hæc humill paucitate sud vincere posse oppositam superbiam Gallicorum, qui se in multitudine et propriis viribus gloriantur?*

² *Ch.* 553/2/47.

³ Act IV. sc. iii. ll. 20, 21.

forward in this play, and but a short time had passed since the king had humbled himself before God in terms which would befit the most devout saint. The difficulty, I think, may be thus explained. The Holinshed speech seems to me to resemble some sermons, the sentiments are pious, but do not rouse a spirit of religious enthusiasm. Finding the speech wanted energy enough to produce this state of feeling, Shakspeare laid it aside entirely, and constructed one which appealed to other influences,—the love of hard fighting, the point of honour, and the spirit of chivalrous self-devotion. We must remember also, that Henry V., unlike him "Whose church-like humours fits not for a crown,"¹ had the chivalric as well as the religious element in his character. The former was likely to come uppermost whenever his heart was stirred by the immediate prospect of battle. Thus Henry addresses his soldiers in the same way at the assault on Harfleur. In calmer moments,—for he was not always striving after honour, like Hotspur,—in seasons of anxiety, as on the night before the final struggle,—in the outburst of thankfulness, after all was won, Henry's natural piety again shines forth. But amid the clang of arms, he speaks in a rapture of martial ardour, which sweeps every other thought from his mind.² Johnson,³ grimly sarcastic, observes: "The king prays like a christian, and swears like a heathen." Possessed, however, as Henry was by the joy of conflict, we may pardon his "God's wills" and "By Jove's," mere unconscious expletives as they were, remembering, too, how the soldier was once described as "full of strange oaths."

The *Chronicles*⁴ have given a brief abstract of an oration which Hall has put in Henry's mouth. When the English were drawn up for battle, and all was ready, the king "calling his capteins and soldiers about him, made to them a right graue oration, mouuing them to plaie the men,

¹ *Henry V.* Pt. 2, Act I. sc. i. l. 47.

² Nicols has remarked on Henry's speech in Act IV. sc. iii. that ll. 6x, 6g—

"For he to day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition"

have given rise to a belief that every one who served at Agincourt was allowed to assume whatever armorial bearings he pleased. Henry issued writs in 1417 to restrain persons serving in his expeditions from assuming coat armours which they had no right to bear, but expressly excepted "those who bore arms with us at the Battle of Agincourt" from producing any proof of their claim.—*Agincourt*, pp. 16g—171.

³ In a note on *Henry V.*, Variorum Shakspeare, xvii. 4x5.

⁴ Ch. 553/a/30. Livius, p. 16, only says that Henry *suos hortabatur ad id quod instabat certamen*. Walsingham has given him a short speech, ll. 311, 312; Hall a longer one, pp. 67, 68. St. Remy, who was present with the English army, has given the heads of the king's address, vii. 511, 512.

whereby to obtaine a glorious victorie, as there was hope certeine they should, the rather if they would but remember the iust cause for which they fought, and whome they should incounter, such faint-hearted people as their ancestors had so often ouercome. To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to stirre them to doo manfullie, assuring them that England should neuer be charged with his ransome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue; for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by Gods grace) win honour and fame."

[In Caxton (*Chron.* ed. 1482, sign. t. 6, back) Henry's behaviour on the morning of Agincourt is described in these simple and touching words: "And than oure kyng beholding & seying the multitude & nombre of his enemyes to withstonde his wey / & yeue hym batayll / Than the kyng with a meke hert & a good spirite lyft vp his handes to almyzty god & besougt hym of his helpe and socour / & that day to saue his trewe seruauntes And than our kyng gadred al his lordes & other peple aboute and bad hem al be a good chere / For they shold haue a fayre day & a gracious victorie / & the better of al hir enemyes / and praid hem all to make hem redy vnto the bataylle / for he wold rather be dede that day in the feld than to be take of his enemyes / for he wold neuer put the reame of england to rauysoun for his persone . . . the morn aroos / the day gan spryng / and the kyng by good auyse lete araye his bataill / and his wynges & charged euery man to kepe hem hole to geders. & prayd hem al to be of good chere / And whan they were redy / he asked / what tyme of the day it was. & they sayd pryme / Than sayd our kyng / Nowe is good tyme / For al England pruieth for vs / and therfor be of good chere / and lete vs goo to our Iourneye / And than he sayd with an high voys / In the name of Almyghty god / & of seynt George a vauwt Baner / and seynt George this day thyne helpe."]

As the chivalrous king ends his speech, Salisbury enters, announcing that—

"The French are bravely in their battles set,
And will with all expedience charge on us."¹

Then trumpets are heard without, and Montjoy, sent now by the Constable, again presents himself. Once more the herald exhorts Henry to offer ransom, ere it be too late. "Here we may not forget," the *Chronicles*² observe, "how the French thus in their isolation, sent an herald to king Henric, to inquire what ransom he would offer. Whereunto he answered, that within two or three houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the English for their ransoms, than the English to take thought for their

¹ Act IV. sc. iii. ll. 69—70.

² *Ch.* 554/1/13. *Hull*, p. 68.

deliuerance, *promising for his owne part, that his dead carcase should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his liuing bodie should paie anie ransome.*"¹

[A few remarks on the authority for this story, which the *Chronicles* took from Hall, may not be out of place here. I cannot find anything bearing a resemblance to it, except the following lines from *The Siege of Harflet, & Batayl of Agencourt* by K. Hen. 5.:²—

"The Lord Haly un trewe knyzt
Un tel oure kyng he come in hys,
And sayd, ' Syre zeld 3ow w^t oute fyzt,
And save 3owre selfe & 3owre meyny.
And oure kyng bade hym go hys way in hy,
And byde no longer in my Syzt.'" ³

Of this *dominus de Helly* Livius⁴ gives a different account. He had been a prisoner of war in England, but had escaped. Just before the battle began he appeared before Henry, accompanied by two men of rank, and offered to meet in single combat any Englishman who should accuse him of unknighly conduct in thus escaping from custody. The king answered that the present time was unfit for such a purpose, and desiring De Helly to return to his comrades, and urge them to advance, added a hope that his dishonourable conduct might on that day be punished either by re-capture, or death. In reply, De Helly refused to take orders from any one save his sovereign, Charles VI. The French, he said, would choose their own time for fighting. Henry then told De Helly and his companions to depart, promising to follow them speedily.]

The herald departed, York enters and says :—

" My lord, most humbly on my knee I beg
The leading of the vaward." ⁵

In his dispositions for battle, Henry, the *Chronicles*⁶ tell us, "appointed a vaward, of the which he made capteine Edward duke of Yorke, who of an haultie courage had desired that office." Some lines in a poem

¹ Cf. Act IV. sc. iii. ll. 122, 123.

² Printed by Hearn in the appendix to his ed. of *Elmham*, pp. 359—375. Nicolas printed another version of this poem (*Agincourt*, pp. 301—329), which is attributed to Lydgate, in which these lines do not occur.

³ *Elmham*, p. 368.

⁴ *Livius*, pp. 18, 19. De Helly was slain in the battle.—*Livius*, p. 21. St. Remy, viii. 7, speaks of negotiations between Henry and the French on the morning of the 25th. The king proposed to surrender Harfleur, and resign his claim to the French throne on receiving in lieu thereof the duchy of Guienne, with five cities belonging to it, the county of Ponthieu, and the hand of the princess Katherine, whose dowry was to be 800,000 crowns.

⁵ Act. IV. sc. iii. ll. 129—132.

⁶ Cf. 553/155. *Hall*, p. 67.

attributed to Lydgate¹—from which I have already made an extract—thus describe this incident :—

“ The Duke of York thanne full son
Before oure kyng he fell on kne,
‘ My liege Lord, graunt me a bon,
For his love that on croys gan die,
The fore ward this day that ye graunt me,
To be before you in this feld;
Be myn baner slayn wil y be,
Or y will turne my backe or me yelde.’ ”

[As the details of the actual battle are passed over by Shakspeare, I shall not enlarge upon them. Suffice it to say, that between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon, the two armies were drawn up awaiting each other's onset. As the French did not move, and the day was wearing away, Henry ordered an advance, and the battle began with a storm of arrows from his archers. The French laboured under great disadvantages. They were marshalled in three large divisions, one behind the other. The space in their front was so hemmed in on each side by two woods, and the men were, in consequence, so crowded together, that they could, it is said, hardly raise their arms to strike. Moreover, the ground, which was soft, owing to the rain that had fallen in the night, had been trampled into a quagmire by the horses, which the pages and varlets had been previously walking about. The French, St. Remy says, had been on horseback all night. Besides these impediments, the men-at-arms were encumbered with unusually heavy armour. Many of the French suffered from the arrows before the armies closed. The van, however, charged and drove the English back for a short distance, but at this juncture a body of horsemen, appointed to disperse the English archers, retreated in confusion—their horses being utterly unmanageable—from the hail of arrows they encountered, and broke the ranks of the van, which was driven back upon a newly sown field. Thereupon the English archers, casting aside their bows, rushed with bills and swords upon the disordered masses, and pressing through the gaps in the French ranks, fell to hacking and hewing right and left. After this, the battle merged into a carnage. The English literally butchered their way through the French van and centre, till they came to the men-at-arms in the rear, who were still mounted. The greater part of this division, terrified at the fate of their comrades, broke and fled. About six hundred men, kept together

¹ *Harl. MS.* 565, printed in *Agincourt*, pp. 301–329. The lines quoted in the text are in pp. 319, 320. This incident is recorded also in Caxton's *Chron.* (ed. 1482, sign. t. 6, back).

with difficulty by their leaders, made an effort at resistance, ending in the death or capture of the whole force. Here and there, small bodies of the French tried to rally, but were routed with ease.¹

I must not omit the curious description given by the *Chronicles*² of the English archers, to whom the honour of the victory was chiefly due. "In those daies the yeomen had their lims at libertie, sith their hosen were then fastened with one point, and their iackes long and easie to shoot in; so that they might draw bowes of great strength, and shoot arrowes of a yard long; beside the head."]

In Sc. iv. we meet with an old friend who is reaping, without any risk to himself, a golden harvest in the midst of the general panic. The episode of Ancient Pistol and the French soldier might have been suggested by a few lines in the *Chronicles* and a scene in the *Famous Victories*. From the former source we learn how towards the end of the battle "the king minding to make an end of that daies iornie, caused his horssemen to fetch a compasse about, and to ioine with him against the rereaward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greatest number of people. When the Frenchmen perceiued his intent, they were suddenlie amazed and ran awaie like sheepe, without order or arraie. Which when the king perceiued, he encouraged his men, and followed so quickelie vpon the enimies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour: manie on their knices desired to haue their liues saued."³

¹ I have derived the account of the battle from *Monstrelet*, iii. 341-345; and St. Remy, viii. 9-15. The English were drawn up in three divisions. The van, commanded by the duke of York, was disposed as a right wing, and the rear, under the conduct of Lord Camoys, as a left wing. The centre was led by Henry in person. Interspersed with these divisions were bodies of archers, who were defended from the enemy's cavalry by stakes planted in front of them.—*Gesta*, p. 50; *Elmhams*, p. 60. Hall says, "This device of fortifying an armie was at this tyme fyrst inuented," and remarks that it has since been superseded by the use of caltrops, by means of which "the sely pore beasts are compelled to fal and tumble to the ground."—p. 67. The *Chronicles* extracted Hall's account, 553/2/2. The rear of Henry's army was protected by the village in which the king had passed the night, and the flanks by hedges and bushes.—*Livius*, p. 16. The French were marshalled in three divisions, or *batailles*. In the van, led by the Constable, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and other nobles, were chevaliers, squires, archers, and cross-bowmen. The centre, with whom were the dukes of Bar and Alençon, resembled the van in its composition. In the rear were the remainder of the men-at-arms. On one wing were 1600 men-at-arms, who were to make a flanking movement on the English; on the other, 800 picked men-at-arms on horseback, who were to disperse the English archers.—*Monstrelet*, iii. 337, 338.

² *Ch.* 553/1/71. From *Fabyan* (ed. Ellis, p. 579). St. Remy thus describes the archers: *Lesquels archers estoient, la plus grant partie, sans armures a leur pourpoint; leurs chausses auallées, ayant haches et cognées [clubs] pendans a leurs ceintures, ou longues espees, les auleuns tout nuds pieds, et les auleuns portoient hamettes ou capelines [low hats] de cuir bouilli, et les auleuns d'osier, sur lesquels avoit une croisure de fer.*—viii. 9. And to the same effect *Monstrelet*, iii. 341.

³ *Ch.* 554/2/25.

In the *Famous Victories*¹ there is a character named Derrick who figures in the comic scenes. While a party of the French are plundering the English baggage at Agincourt, Derrick, who is wandering vaguely about, is seized by a French soldier, who demands 400 crowns as ransom. Derrick offers as many crowns as will lie on the Frenchman's sword, which he thus induces his captor to place on the ground. Then catching up the sword he becomes master of the situation, and the Frenchman takes to his heels. We here catch a last glimpse of Falstaff's boy. He goes out saying he "must stay with the lackeys, with the luggage of our camp: the French might have a good prey of us, if he knew of it; for there is none to guard it but boys."² This leads me to make some remarks on the only incidents of the battle introduced by Shakspeare.

At the close of Sc. vi. Henry exclaims—

"But, hark! what new alarm is this same?

The French have reinforced their scattered men:—

Then every soldier kill his prisoners;

Give the word through."³

In Sc. vii. Fluellen and Gower enter, the former abusing some French fugitives who have plundered the king's baggage, and killed the boys left in charge of it. Gower tells him that Henry has therefore "most worthily, caused every soldier to cut his prisoner's throat."⁴ During the battle, as the *Chronicles*⁵ state, some French horsemen,⁶ who had been the first to fly, fell upon the English baggage and began plundering. "But when the outcries of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the king's eares, he doubting least his enimies should gather together againe, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enimies, or the verie enimies to their takers in deed if they were suffered to live, contrarie to his accustomed gentleness, commanded by sound of trumpet, that everie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinently slaie his prisoner."⁷ Johnson⁸ censures Shakspeare for making

¹ *Sh. Lib.*, Pt. 2, i. 368.

² Act IV. sc. vi. ll. 35—38.

³ *Ch.* 554/2/39.

⁴ Act IV. sc. iv. ll. 71—72.

⁵ Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 9, 10.

⁶ Their leaders were Riffart de Clamasse, Robinet de Bournonville, and Flamant d'Azincourt. About 600 peasants—the *Chronicles*, following *Hall*, p. 60, erroneously say horsemen—accompanied them.—*Monstrelet*, iii. 344. St. Remy calls them *cette maudite compaignie de Francheis, qui aussi firent mourir celle noble cheuallee*. viii. 14. Bournonville and d'Azincourt were imprisoned for a long time by the duke of Burgundy, on account of this affair, although they had tried to make their peace by giving the duke's son, Philip, a jewelled sword belonging to Henry, which formed part of the plunder.—*Monstrelet*, iii. 345.

⁷ *Ch.* 554/2/57. *Hall*, p. 69. *Monstrelet*, iii. 344. St. Remy describes the butchery. The captors—thinking of their ransoms—didn't like to kill their prisoners, so two hundred archers were sent to do the work.—viii. 14.

⁸ *Variorum Shakspeare*, xvii. 438, note.

Henry imply one reason for the slaughter of the prisoners, namely, the fear lest they should turn upon their captors; while Gower speaks as if the king acted from feelings of resentment. Both motives are natural under the circumstances, and we may suppose that the former reason for this massacre was communicated by Henry to his officers, the latter being the popular, soldier's version of the affair.

As Fluellen and Gower are chatting, the king re-enters, and orders a herald to go to some French horsemen stationed on a hill, and bid them either come down and fight, or retire from the field, threatening, if they do neither, to attack them. "Besides," he adds,

"We'll cut the throats of those we have;
And not a man of them that we shall take,
Shall taste our mercy."¹

Johnson² here remarks: "The king is in a very bloody humour. He has already cut the throats of his prisoners, and threatens now to cut them again;" and suggests a "dislocation of the scenes." The *Chronicles*,³ after describing the butchery of the prisoners, thus proceed: "When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the Englishmen disposed themselves in order of battell, readie to abide a new field, and also to invade, and newlie set on their enemies, with great force they assailed the earles of Marle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Louraie, and of Thine, with six hundred men of armes, who had all that daie kept together, but [were] now slaine and beuten downe out of hand. Some write,⁴ that the king

¹ Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 66—68.

² *Variorum Shakspeare*, xvii. 440, note.

³ Ch. 554/2/74. *Hull*, p. 69. *Monstrelet*, iii. 345.

⁴ *Elmhams*, pp. 67, 68, and *Livius*, p. 20, record this incident. According to the former, Henry, after overthrowing the French centre, which was opposed to the English under his own command (p. 60), saw a large body of Frenchmen in his front preparing for battle. After a little while, *post pauca*, the other divisions of the English army also succeeded in routing the troops opposed to them. The soldiers were by this time weary, and were, moreover, insufficiently provided with offensive weapons, *armis invasivis*. It was feared, lest on renewing the conflict, this fresh body of the enemy might be aided by the French who had been made prisoners, many of whom therefore the English slew, even nobles, *licet nobiles*. It is not said that Henry ordered the massacre. The king sent heralds to the French who had caused the alarm, bidding them either advance, or retire from the field. He threatened in the former case, *tam ipsi, quam captivi ad huc superstitis, absque misericordia, dirissima vindicta, quam Angli possent infligere, interirent*, p. 68. The menace proved effectual and the French withdrew. To the same effect *Livius*, p. 20. Caxton's account (*Chron.* ed. 1482, sign. t. 6, back), though brief, accords in the main with *Elmhams* and *Livius*. *Elmhams* casually mentions the plunder of the baggage, p. 69, but the *Chronicles*, following *Hull*, whose authority is *Monstrelet*, attribute the massacre of the prisoners to the panic caused by these French plunderers; introducing *Elmhams*'s and *Livius*'s account afterwards with the words, "Some write," and omitting the reason they give for the slaughter of the prisoners. The *Chronicles* insert this incident after their description of the stand made by the earls of Marle and Fauconbridge; and the words following it, "And so

perceiving his enimies in one part to assemble together, as though they meant to giue a new battell for preseruatiō of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and giue battell: promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people already had taken; but also so manie of them as in this new conflict, which they thus attempted should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption."

This account, I think, explains Johnson's difficulty, and shows Shakspeare's care in following the *Chronicles*. For, in the first place, it is reasonable to suppose that many new prisoners would be made in the second engagement with the French commanded by Marle and Fauconbridge: and secondly, the consecutive order in which the incident of the horsemen, summoned by Henry to retire, is placed, leads us to infer that the compilers of the *Chronicles* regarded it as subsequent to the defeat of the troops against whom the English turned after the massacre of the prisoners. It was a second batch of prisoners, therefore, which Henry afterwards proposed to slay. Now let us compare Shakspeare with the *Chronicles*. In Sc. v. the Constable, Orleans, and Bourbon,¹ tortured with shame at their defeat, resolve to renew the conflict at all hazards. Immediately after their exit, Henry enters.² The stage-direction in the F^o reads: "*Alarm. Enter the King and his trayne, with Prisoners.*" In this scene—which is not long—the deaths of York and Suffolk are related to the king; then comes the alarm, and Henry orders the captives, those—we may conjecture—whom he has brought with him, to be killed. He then goes out. While Fluellen and Gower are conversing in Sc. vii. Henry was, we may imagine, opposing the desperate onslaught of the Constable and Bourbon. The talk between Fluellen and Gower is interrupted by Henry's return. The stage-direction is: "*Alarm. Enter King Harry and Bourbon with prisoners.*" These, I presume, are the prisoners whom the king threatens to slay also. Shakspeare then, it seems, has departed from his authority only by substituting a despairing effort made by the Constable and Bourbon to retrieve the fortunes of the day; for the resistance offered by the French men-at-arms under Marle and Fauconbridge.³

about foure of the clocke in the after noon, the king when he saw no appearance of enimies," &c., show that they regarded it as their authority justify them in doing—as the last event of the battle. In a muster roll printed by Nicolas in *Agincourt*, p. 369, Henry is said to have massacred his prisoners because 20,000 men had rallied under the command of "Sir William Tybottille, Lord of de la Riviere."

¹ Charles duc d'Orleans, nephew of Charles VI., and father of Louis XII. Jean duc de Bourbon, son of Louis duc de Bourbon, who was Charles the Sixth's uncle.

² Act IV. sc. vi.

³ I have derived this explanation from the notes of M. Mason and Malone.—*Vartorum Shakspeare*, xvii. 441, 442.

As Henry's herald goes out, to bid the last remnant of the French host depart, Montjoy,¹ with saddened aspect now, comes again, and begs leave to sort the noble dead from the common men, with whom they lie mingled in indistinguishable heaps. "In the morning," the *Chronicles*² record, "Montioie king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the K. to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead." The king affects not to be sure that the day is his, and when Montjoy shortly answers, "The day is yours," Henry asks, "What is this castle call'd that stands hard by?" Montjoy replies, "They call it Agincourt." "Then," says the king,

"call we this the field of Agincourt,
Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus."³

To resume the extract from the *Chronicles*.⁴ "Before he made them answer (to vnderstand what they would saie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that request, considering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs? When Montioie by true and iust confession had cleered that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montioie to vnderstand the name of the castell neere adjoining: when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, Then shall this conflict be called the battell of Agincourt."⁵ Elsewhere the *Chronicles* give the date of the battle—"the five and twentieth of October in the yeare 1415, being then fridaie, and the feast of Crispine and Crispinian, a day faire and fortunate to the English, but most sorrowfull and vnluckie to the French."⁶

I have not come across, in the *Chronicles*, the story which Fluellen reminds Henry of, about "the Welshmen who did good service in a

¹ Act IV. sc. vii. l. 69.

² Ch. 555/1/36.

³ Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 93, 94.

⁴ Ch. 555/1/39.

⁵ Hall, whom the *Chronicles* follow, derived this account from Monstrelet, but has made some alterations in it. Monstrelet says that while the English were stripping the dead—the context shows that the time must have been the close of the day on which the battle was fought—Henry called Montjoy and many other heralds, both English and French (Hall says four French heralds), to him, and put to them the questions given in the text. Before asking these questions, he told the heralds that not he, but God, had caused this slaughter, on account of the sins of the French. Hall makes Henry attribute the victory to "the suffraunce of GOD for injury and vntruth that we haue receled at the handes of your Prince and his nacion." The *Chronicles* do not record either Monstrelet's or Hall's version of this remark of the king's. Hall provides Montjoy with a speech in answer to the king's first question. The *Chronicles* omit this also. *Hall*, p. 70. *Monstrelet*, iii. 346. St. Remy says nothing about the heralds, and only mentions Henry's enquiry touching the name of the castle.—viii. 15.

⁶ Ch. 552/2/70. *Ri quia in festo Sanctorum Crispini & Crispiniani tanta victorie sibi [Henry V.] datur, omni die, durante vita sua, memorium de eisdem in una missurarum suarum audivit*.—*Elmhams*, p. 68. And so *Livius*, pp. 20, 21.

garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps."¹ There is something like it in Brand,² who cites *The Royal Apophthegms of King James*, 1658, to this effect: "*The Welchmen, in commemoration of the Great Fight by the Black Prince of Wales, do wear Leeks as their chosen ensign.*"

Relieved from his anxiety, the king in pursuing his joke with Williams, gives a glove to Fluellen, professing to have taken it from the duke of Alençon's helmet. Alençon, Monstrelet³ tells us, cut his way to the king, wounded and struck down the duke of York, and dealt Henry—who was stooping in order to raise his cousin—a blow on the helmet which cleft from it a part of the encircling crown. The *Chronicles*⁴ record the rest: "The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alanson; yet with plaine strength he slue two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome when he would haue yelded, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand."

The list of the French dead, which the English herald⁵ presents to Henry, was taken by Shakspeare from the *Chronicles*,⁶ and put into blank verse, with but slight alterations or omissions. The same remark applies to Exeter's report concerning the prisoners.

Shakspeare preferred accepting an incredibly small estimate of the English losses,⁷ regardless of the *Chronicles*' caveat. "Of Englishmen," we read, "there died at this battell, Edward duke of Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, sir Richard Kikelie, and Dauid Gamme esquier, and of all other not aboute fife and twentie persons, as some doo report, but other writers of greater credit (*Grafton* is cited in the margin) affirme, that there were slaine aboute fife or six hundred persons. *Titus Livius* saith, that there were slaine of Englishmen, beside the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, an hundred persons at the first encounter."⁸

¹ Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 102-104.

² Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, i. 104, ed. 1849. (Bohn's *Ant. Lib.*)

³ Monstrelet, iii. 355. Alençon held up his hand, crying to the king, "*Je suis le duc d'Alençon, et me rends à vous.*" But the *gardes du corps du roi* drew the duke before Henry could interfere. Jean duc d'Alençon was the father of the Alençon we meet with in *Henry VI.* Pt. 1.

⁴ Ch. 55/2/20. Hall, p. 69.

⁵ Act IV. sc. viii. ll. 83-105.

⁶ Ch. 555/2/30. Hall, pp. 71, 72, gives more names, taken from Monstrelet's long lists.—ll. 348-354, and p. 356.

⁷ Act IV. sc. viii. ll. 108-111.

⁸ Ch. 555/2/56. Hall, whom the *Chronicles* follow, says of this estimate, "If you wil geue credite to such as write miracles: but other writers whom I sooner beleue, affirme that there was slaine aboute v. or vi. c. persons."—p. 72. He doesn't mention Livius's estimate. I know not from what source the precise total of the slain on the English side, "not aboute fife and twentie persons," was derived. The Harl. MS. 782, containing the names of those present at Agincourt, records as slain, "The Duce of Yorke, the Countie de Suff., Le Sr. de Richard Kykelley, Davy Game, Espuier of

The thanksgivings for the victory, which Henry directs to be offered up,¹ are thus described in the *Chronicles*:² "And so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the king when he saw no apperance of enimies caused the retreit to be blowen; and gathering his armie together, gaue thanks to almightie God for so happie a victorie, causing his prelates and chapleins to sing the psalme: *In exitu Israel de Egipto*, and commanded euerie man to kneele downe on the ground at this verse: *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomine tuo da gloriam*. Which doone, he caused *Te Deum*, with certeine anthems to be soong, giuing laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or anie humane power." I regret to say, that one of the "holy rites," "The dead with

Wales, and x Archers."—*Agincourt*, p. 369. Walsingham says, "*De parte Regis cecidere Dominus Edwardus Dux Eboraci, et Dominus Michael Comes Southfolchie, quatuor milites et unus armiger, dictus 'David Gam,' et de communibus viginti octo*."—ii. 313. This Michael de la Pole, third earl of Suffolk, was succeeded in the title by his brother William; the Suffolk whom we meet with in *Henry VI.*, Pts. x and a. His father died at the siege of Harfleur. "Dnydd gam, i. e. squint-eyed David," was, Dr. Meyrick says, a native of Brecknockshire. Having killed a kinsman in an affray in the High Street of Brecknock, he was obliged to take refuge in England. He became a devoted partizan of the House of Lancaster, and a bitter enemy of Owen Glendower. Gam was a nickname, his real name being David Llewelyn, "and there are good grounds for supposing that Shakspeare has caricatured him in Captain Muelin." These "good grounds" are not stated by Dr. Meyrick.—See note in the appendix to *Agincourt*, p. 60.

Nicolas has collected and discussed the authorities for the French and English losses.—*Agincourt*, pp. 132—137. The discrepancies which appear in regard to the former may, he thinks, be reconciled by supposing the lesser estimates to include only persons of superior rank, and men-at-arms, while in the larger all ranks are counted. His total is between ten and eleven thousand men. As to the English losses the French and English writers are irreconcilable, the estimates varying between Monstrelet's and St. Remy's, 1500 of all ranks, and the absurd computation of the *Gesta*, p. 58,—the duke of York, earl of Suffolk, two knights, *noviter insignitos milites*, and nine or ten other persons. Pierre de Penin computed the English losses at 400 or 500 slain: Berry, the French herald, at 300 or 400. Nicolas reconciled these estimates with Monstrelet's and St. Remy's on the supposition that men-at-arms only were counted. The English chroniclers do not even accord with one another in their estimates. Nicolas says, "the gross amount of the slain, one hundred, as asserted by Elmham and Livius, appears to be an ample proportion of inferior persons," p. 135. He reminds the reader, however, that St. Remy was present with the English army, and infers from expressions in the chancellor's speech to parliament on the 2nd of November, 1415, and in the decisions relative to the wages of those who served in the expedition to France (appendix, pp. 51, 52), that the number of the slain exceeded the English chroniclers' calculations. The chancellor said the victory was won *sans grand perte de ses Engleis*.—*Agincourt*, p. 161, note.

¹ Act IV. sc. viii. l. 128. I cannot find any authority for ll. 119, 120—

"And be it death proclaimed through our host,
To boast of this," &c.

² Ch. 555/1/21. Hall, p. 70.

charity enclosed in clay,"¹ was neglected. The *Chronicles*² record how "The same sundaie [Saturday, Oct. 26] that the king remooued from the campe at Agincourt towards Calis, diuerse Frenchmen came to the feldes to view againe the dead bodies; and the pezants of the cuntry spoiled the carcasses of all such apparell and other things as the Englishmen had left: who tooke nothing but gold and siluer, iewels, rich apparell and costlie armour. But the plowmen and pezants left no thing behind, neither shirt nor clout: so that the bodies laie starke naked untill wednesdaie."

Henrys sailed from Calais on the 6th of November, arriving the same day at Dover. The statement of the *Chronicles*,³ that "In this passage, the seas were so rough and troublous, that two ships belonging to sir John Cornewall, lord Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland; howbeit, nothing was lost, nor any person perisht," may be alluded to in the Prologue to Act. V. ll. 11—13:—

"the deep-mouth'd sea

Which, like a mighty whiffler⁴ fore the king,
Seems to prepare his way."

Stow⁵ relates how, "When the king had passed the Sea, and was come to arriue and to take land at Douer, innumerable people of Religion, Priests, and Noblemen, and of the commons came running to meete the King in euerie way." The Prologue⁶ depicts this scene:—

¹ L. 129.

² *Ch.* 555/1/68. *Monstrelet*, iii. 357—359. Philippe comte de Charolois, caused all the bodies left unclaimed on the field, 5800 in number, to be buried in three pits. The burial-place was consecrated, and enclosed by a strong hedge to keep out wolves and dogs. Some of the dead were removed for interment in their own churches. Many men who had been mortally wounded in the battle died in the towns and villages of the neighbourhood, or in the woods near the battle-field. Amongst the slain who were borne away by their servants, Monstrelet mentions the dukes of Brabant and Alençon, the Constable, and the comte de Fauquembergue, he who, with the remnant of the rear-guard, made the last stand against the English.

³ *Ch.* 555/1/24. *Hall*, p. 72. *Monstrelet*, whom *Hall* and the *Chronicles* follow, says the sea was *moult fort troublée*.—iii. 360. According to *Elmhurst* and *Livius*, though the passage was rough, yet the wind was fair for England. A number of prisoners of the highest rank were on board the royal ship. They suffered severely from the *mal de mer*, so much so, *quod* [hæc] *illis dies non acerba minus videt* *stare quam cum capite cum tanta suorum strage*, *Livius*, p. 22; and both writers record the astonishment of the French nobles, *miris elationibus non auctis*, a. *Elmhurst* remarks, at Henry's perfect immunity from that distressing disorder. The king, says he, was not only in good health, *incolumen*, but jolly, *jocondum*.—*Elmhurst*, p. 72; *Livius*, p. 22.

⁴ "The whiffers were generally pipers and horn-blowers who headed a procession, and cleared the way for it."—*Halliwel's Dict.* s. v. Whiffler.

⁵ *Annales*, p. 574, ed. 1605. *Tantus erat amor expectatiq[ue] regis, ut in ipsum pelagus quam plurimi pedibus ad regiam navem proficerentur, illum in minus et brachiis suis ad terram deportaturi*.—*Livius*, p. 22, and see *Elmhurst*, p. 71.

⁶ *Ll.* 9—11.

"behold, the English beach
Pales in the flood with men, with wives, and boys
Whose shouts and claps out-voice the deep-mouth'd sea ;"

and proceeds:—

"You may imagine him upon Blackheath :
When that his lords desire him to have borne
His bruised helmet, and his bended sword,
Before him, through the city : he forbids it,
Being free from vainness and self-glorious pride ;
Giving full trophy, signal, and ostent,
Quite from himself to God."¹

Then we are to imagine—

"How London doth pour forth her citizens !
The mayor, and all his brethren, in best sort,
* * * * *
Go forth, and fetch their conquering Caesar in."²

Or, as the *Chronicles*³ have it: "The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained scarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautifull murrie, well mounted, and trimlie horssed, with rich collars, & great chaines, met the king on Blackheath, reioising at his returne: and the clergie of London, with rich crosses, sumptuous copes, and massie censers, receiued him at saint Thomas of Waterings with solemne procession.

"The king like a graue and sober personage, and as one remembring from whom all victories are sent, seemed little to regard such vaine pompe and shewes as were in triumphant sort deuised for his welcomming home from so prosperous a iournie, in so much that he would not suffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be seene in the same."⁴

Ll. 38—39,

"The emperor's coming in behalfe of France,
To order peace between them ;"

¹ Ll. 16—22.

² Ll. 24—28.

³ Ch. 556/1/28. Hall, p. 72.

⁴ The *Chronicles* cite Livius (pp. 22, 23) in the margin, but seem rather to have followed Elmham, cf. 556/1/45—48, "neither would he suffer any ditties to be made or song by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praise and thanks altogether giuen to God" with *soli omnipotenti Deo se velle victoriam imputari, omnibus plane refert, in tantum, quod cantus de suo triumpho fieri, seu per citharisias, vel alios quoscumque cantari penitus prohibebat*, p. 72. On Henry's entry into London, boys perched on towers sang thanksgivings and chants, and Livius merely says that the king, *hæc ascribi sibi non perpatitur, sed Deo laudem omnem refert & gloriam*, p. 22. The pageant is described in the *Gesta*, pp. 61—68.

refer to the visit of the emperor Sigismund in 1416, who "came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betwene king Henrie and the French king."¹

The events which preceded the interview at Troyes—dramatised by Shakspeare in Act V. sc. ii.—must be briefly touched upon. Henry returned to France in 1417 with a large army, and by a series of successful sieges reduced Normandy to submission. In 1419, Jean sans P^{eu}r, duke of Burgundy, who was then the virtual ruler of France, opened negotiations for peace with Henry, and proposed a personal conference. This took place at Meulan, the queen, Isabel of Bavaria and her daughter Katherine being also present.² "The said ladie Katharine," we read, "was brought by hir mother, onelic to the intent that the king of England beholding hir excellent beautie, should be so inflamed and rapt in hir loue, that he to obtaine hir to his wife, should the sooner agree to a gentle peace and louing concord."³ But in consequence either of the excessive demands made by the king, or perhaps, as Monstrelet⁴ hints, through the intrigues of the Dauphin, who sought by proffers of friendship to draw away the duke from the English alliance; the numerous conferences between the two parties led to no result, "saue onlie," as the *Chronicles*⁵ assure us, "that a certeine sparke of burning

¹ *Ch.* 556/2/29. Hall says that the emperor "came from the farthest part of Hungary into Fraunce and after into England, intending to knit together all christen princes in one line and amitie, and so beyng frendes together, to make war and reuenge their quarells against the Turke the persecutor of Christes faith and enemye to all christendome."—p. 73.

² The spot chosen for this interview was bounded by two fosses, which were connected with the Seine; a triangular space being thus, I presume, enclosed. Within these boundaries two pavilions were pitched for the accommodation of the diplomatists engaged on either side. In order to preserve due decorum, a post was fixed in the middle of the enclosure, beyond which limit the princely personages present were not to approach one another. Each party—encamping outside the enclosed space—was to bring no more than 2500 soldiers to the place of meeting.—*Elmhams*, pp. 217, 218; *Livius*, pp. 73, 74. Monstrelet says that the enclosure was *très bien clos de bonnes baillies (portes), portant de bons ais hauts, appuyés de solives en aucuns endroits . . . et y avoit plusieurs entrées fermées à trois barrières*.—iv. 154. *Hall*, p. 99, says, "The Frenchmen ditched, trenched, and palled their lodgynges for feare of afterclappes; But the Englishmen had their parte only barred and ported." *Elmhams*, however, simply remarks that the fosse on the French side was deeper and wider.—p. 217.

³ *Ch.* 569/2/11. *Hall*, p. 91. The *Chronicles* follow Hall in this passage. His authority seems to have been Monstrelet, who noticing the fact that the princess Katherine did not return to Meulan after the interview which opened the negotiations, says she was brought there *afin que ledit roi d'Angleterre la vît, lequel estoit moult désirant de l'avoir en mariage, et y avoit bien cause, car elle estoit moult belle dame de haut lieu et de gracieuse manière*.—iv. 156. The French court was then at L'abbaye; Henry was at Mantes. Meulan lies between these two places.

⁴ *Monstrelet*, iv. 156. Tanneguy du Chatel, the chief actor in the duke's subsequent murder, was the bearer of the Dauphin's proposals.

⁵ *Ch.* 569/2/38. *Nisi fortassis amoris scintilla, si quæ fuerit, inter eos em et*

loue was kindled in the kings heart by the sight of the ladie Katherine." The duke was shortly afterwards assassinated in the presence of the Dauphin at the bridge of Montereau,¹ although a treaty of peace had previously been concluded between them. Jean sans Peur's son, Philippe le Bon, was by this treacherous deed driven into an alliance with the English, which lasted many years, and contributed much to the retention of their hold upon France during the weak reign of Henry VI. The first fruit of the Dauphin's and his advisers' policy was the re-opening of the negotiations broken off at Meulan. A truce having been arranged, Philip, who had succeeded his father in the supreme direction of the state, held a conference with Charles VI., Queen Isabel, and the English ambassadors at Troyes. It was agreed that Henry should, on his marriage with the princess Katherine, be recognised as heir to the throne of France to the exclusion of the Dauphin.² In May, 1420, the king entered Troyes, where Charles VI. and the French court awaited him. Here his betrothal and marriage³ to the princess took place. A treaty of peace in accordance with the terms stated above was finally ratified; the duke of Burgundy and many other French nobles taking at the same time an oath of fidelity to Henry as their future sovereign.

Courtney⁴ says that Shakspeare confounds the meetings at Meulan and Troyes, but I can find only one allusion which points to the former. Henry's quarters at Meulan were, we are told, "barred about and ported."⁵ Burgundy, in his appeal for peace, reminds his hearers of the pains he has taken to bring the kings of France and England "Unto this bar, and royal interview:"⁶ where "this bar" doubtless means the barriers which it was usual for each party to erect on such occasions, in order to preserve decorum and guard against treachery. No mention is made of a like precaution at Troyes, the previous amicable understanding having of course rendered such an arrangement unnecessary.

Charles VI., who, on account of his mental malady, was not present at the Meulan conference, had so far regained his health as to be able to take an official part in the meeting at Troyes, although he may still have been, as Monstrelet supposes, so entirely under the influence of his advisers as to sanction measures which were prejudicial to his own interests.⁷ Regarding the English nobles introduced in this scene, I

ipsam nobilissimum Katherinam præcensu, ex his visibus mutuis sit uberius inflammata.—Elmham, p. 226. *Nisi quod viso regia Katherina quædam amoris flamma Martium regem tunc primum accendit.*—Lælius, p. 75.

¹ The murder is described by *Monstrelet*, iv. chnp. 219.

² *Monstrelet* relates these negotiations, iv. 225, 226.

³ The marriage took place on June 2nd, 1420.

⁴ *Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakspeare*, i. 208.

⁵ *Ch. 510/2/a. Hall*, p. 90.

⁶ *Act V. sc. ii. l. 27.*

⁷ Henry on arriving at Troyes went without delay to visit Charles, and was well

must observe that Exeter, who points out the unsubscribed article of the treaty; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester were, the *Chronicles* state, present at the Meulan conference.² Westmoreland, to whom ll. 460—462 are assigned by the F^o, was not present at either meeting. The dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and the earls of Warwick and Huntingdon, whom the king dismisses in ll. 84, 85, with full powers to ratify the treaty, did, according to the *Chronicles*, accompany Henry to Troyes.³

Henry's salutation to the duke of Burgundy at the opening of the scene—

"And as a branch and member of this royalty,
By whom this great assembly is contriv'd,
We do salute you, duke of Burgundy—" ³

sets forth the fact that peace was due to the duke of Burgundy's counsels. The speeches of the sovereigns and nobles in this scene have no parallel in the *Chronicles*. Courtenay,⁴ however, sees a similarity which does not strike me between ll. 68—71—

"If, duke of Burgundy, you would the peace,
Whose want gives growth to the imperfections
Which you have cited, *you must buy that peace,*
With full accord to all our just demands;"

and the parting words of Henry V. to the duke of Burgundy [Jean sans Peur] on the breaking up of the conference at Meulan, "*Cousine, we will haue your kings daughter, and all things that we demand with hir, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme.*" ⁵

received. Theroupon *Livius* remarks: *Karolus enim per id temporis sua valetudine qua sola laborabat, ad tempus parumper levatus erat*—p. 83. Elmhams words, in relating the same event, are: *qui* [Charles VI.] *licet, ut supra relatum est, plerumque rationis pateretur exilium, modo tamen, forsassis beneficium intervallo lucidiori adeptus, &c.*—p. 251. Monstrelet comments thus upon the treaty of Troyes: *Et par tout ce dessus dit [the terms of the treaty], accordé par le roi Charles, lequel en long-temps par avant n'avoit été en sa vive mémoire, comme dit est dessus. Et tout eurent d'accorder et traiter en tous états selon l'opinion de ceux qui étoient assésés, ou sa présence, tout en son prejudice comme autrement.*—iv. 225.

² Ch. 569/171. Hall, p. 91.

³ Ch. 572/19. Hall, p. 95. Exeter, with other ambassadors, went to Troyes to settle the terms of the treaty, and returned to Rouen, where Henry then was. Ch. 572/148.

John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, created duke of Exeter, at Hen. VI., distinguished himself in the French wars. Collins's *Percey*, ed. 1714, ii. 125. His son Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, appears in *Henry IV.* Pt. 3, Act I. sc. 1.

Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, appears in *Henry IV.* Pt. 2, 1601, 14, 15.

⁴ I. l. 5—7.

⁵ *Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakespeare*, i. 200.

⁶ Ch. 569/245. At the last of the Meulan conference, Henry, finding that his demands would not be complied with, said to the duke of Burgundy: "*Heu, hé, hé,*

*The Famous Victories*¹ has a concluding scene which somewhat resembles this of Shakspeare's. Henry enters in a most uncompromising mood, and orders his secretary to read aloud the conditions of peace, which are: his immediate coronation as king of France, and the confirmation of the same dignity to his heirs for ever. Charles demurs at first, but in the end takes a copy of the ultimatum, and retires to consider it. Having sent off his lords, Henry soliloquizes. He reflects upon the small claim to the princess's favour which his treatment of her father has given him. From what follows Shakspeare has taken some hints. The princess, entering with her ladies, tells Henry that her father has sent her to obtain better terms from him. The king commends his royal brother's discernment in choosing such an ambassador, and asks can she "tell how to loue?" She cannot hate, is the reply, 'twould be more unfit for her to love. Henry then demands if she can love the king of England, adding—

"I cannot do as these Countries [? Countys] do,
That spend halfe their time in woing:
Tush, wench, I am none such."

"I cannot look greenly," says Shakspeare's Henry, "nor gasp out my eloquence."² Katherine wishes she had the king as fast in love as he has her father in wars; she wouldn't vouchsafe a look till Henry abated his demands. Henry is sure she wouldn't use him so hardly, and repeats his question. She replies—

"How should I loue him, that hath dealt so hardly
With my father?"

Shakspeare's Katherine answers the same question thus, "Is it possible dat I sould love de enemy of France?"³ Henry says he won't be so hard with her, but what is her answer? If she were at her own disposal she could give one; but she stands at her father's direction, and must first know his will. "Wilt thou have me?" Shakspeare's Henry asks, at the end of his final appeal. "Dat is as it sall please de *roy mon père*,"⁴ is the response. The king wants to know if he has *her* good will. She can't give him any assurance, but wouldn't have him despair. Henry is delighted, and swears she's a sweet wench. The princess here indulges in an aside on her good fortune, and then the king says—

nous voulons que vous sachiez que nous aurons la fille de votre roi, et tout ce qu'avons demandé avec elle, ou nous le débouterons, et vous aussi, hors de son royaume." Auxquelles paroles ledit duc répondit: "Sire, vous dites votre plaisir; mais devant qu'ayez débouté monseigneur et nous hors de son royaume, vous serez bien lassé; et de ce ne faisons nulle doute."—Monstrelet, iv. 157.

¹ *Sh. l. lib.*, pt. 2, l. 369—372.

² *l.* 149.

³ *l.* 172, 179.

⁴ *l.* 267.

"Swēete Kate, tel thy father from me,
That none in the world could sooner haue perswaded me to
It then thou, and so tel thy father from me."

This reminds one of—"You have witchcraft in your lips, Kate: there is more eloquence in a sugar touch of them than in the tongues of a French council: and they would sooner persuade Harry of England than a general petition of monarchs."¹ The writer of *The Famous Victories* has, however, omitted the kiss, which Shakspeare, with more truth to nature, made Henry claim at this juncture.² The king, after Katherine has left him with the valediction, "God keepe your Maiestie in good health," brutally remarks that if he wasn't sure of her father's good will he would make Charles glad to bring her to him on hands and knees.

Henry's strength and agility—"If I could win a lady at leap-frog, or by vaulting into my saddle with my armour on my back, under the correction of bragging be it spoken, I should quickly leap into a wife"³—are amply vouched for. "In strength and nimblenesse of bodie from his youth few to him comparable, for in wrestling, *leaping*, and running, no man well able to compare. In casting of great iron barres and heauie stones he excelled commonlie all men."⁴ His depreciation of his outward seeming,—as one "whose face is not worth sun-burning, that never looks in his glass for love of anything he sees there,"⁵—the "aspect of iron"⁶ that frights ladies when he comes to woo them,—hardly accords with the *Chronicles*⁷ description. "Knowen be it therefore, of person and forme was this prince rightlie representing his heroicall

¹ Ll. 302—306.

² At the first of the Moulau meetings, Henry saluted both the queen and the princess with a kiss. The latter, Elmham tells us in very fine language, blushed.—p. 222. Monstrelet relates the same incident, but is decorously silent concerning the effect of the king's salutation.—iv. 155.

³ Ll. 142—145.

⁴ Ch. 583/158. *Hall*, p. 112. *Omnes coactantes suos saliendo preuenit.*—Elmham, p. 12. If we believe Elmham, p. 12, and *Livius*, p. 4, Henry was so short of foot as to be able often to catch deer, driven from their covert. Two chosen companions joined him in the chase, but he used neither dogs, or missiles. His slowness for throwing heavy weights is not mentioned.

⁵ Ll. 153—155.

⁶ Ll. 241.

⁷ Ch. 583/254. *Hall*, p. 113. *Livius* thus pictures Henry: *Ille erat princeps, ultra mediam staturam, facie decora, oblongo collo, corpore gracili, membris subtilibus, miris tamen viribus.*—p. 4. Elmham's words are: *Facies ejus multa ferebat orat, collum extensum, corpus gracile, membra ejus non multum munitas erat tumescit, multa tamen fortitudine mirabiliter virtuosa.*—p. 12. As to his stature, Elmham says: *mediocri statura decenter edituit.*—p. 12. I do not know Hall's authority for the colour of his hair. There is a portrait of Henry V. in the Provost's Lodge at Elton, resembling, if my memory serves me, Vertue's engraving. "From an Antient Picture now in the Palace at Kensington."

affects, of stature and proportion tall and manlie, rather leane than grose, somewhat long necked and blacke haired, of countenance amiable."

To resume the comparison with the *Famous Victories*. After a scene in which Derrick and his friend John Cobler turn up for some more buffoonery, Henry V. enters with the duke of Exeter and the earl of Oxford: then follow Charles VI., the Dauphin, and the duke of Burgundy. The instrumentality of the last-named in bringing about peace is never even alluded to throughout the play. The Dauphin was of course not present at this or the former meeting. Charles objects to Henry's being forthwith crowned king of France. Henry insists, and then complains of certain Frenchmen unknown, who fired his tent at the last parley [? Meulan]. He suspects the Dauphin of complicity, and threatens. The French king assures him of his son's innocence, and proposes that Henry should be "proclaimed and crowned heire and Regent of France." Henry assents, with the further stipulations that the crown shall descend to his heirs, and the French nobles shall swear allegiance to him. These being granted, the duke of Burgundy is sworn on Henry's sword, and the Dauphin follows suit. The king has one more demand: the hand of the princess. Again he asks her if she can love the king of England, and again she retorts, "How should I loue thee, which is my father's enemy?" Henry is sure she is really proud of having the king of England as a suitor, and her father begs her to hesitate no longer. She yields, frankly remarking that she had better secure Henry while he is willing. Charles requests Henry to fix the wedding day, which being done, "The first Sunday of the next moneth," the trumpets sound and *cavent omnes*.¹

The article² which Exeter points out as still unsubscribed, is the 25th in the treaty of Troyes, and runs thus in the *Chronicles*:³ "Also that our said futher, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this maner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry d'Engleterre heretere de France*. And in Latine in this maner: *Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus rex Anglie & heres Francie*." The 23rd article had provided that "letters of common iustice, and also *grants of offices and gifts*,"⁴ &c., should bear the name and seal of Charles VI. It was to be lawful, however, for Henry to issue such if necessary (I presume Charles's mental malady is implied) "in our fathers behalfe and ours," as regent of France. In the 24th article Henry engages not to use the

¹ *Sh. Lib.*, pt. 2, i. 375-377.

² *Id.* 364-370. The numeration of the articles is, I suppose, due to Hall. They are not numbered in Blunham or Monstrelet.

³ *Ch.* 574/2/19. *Hall*, p. 99.

⁴ *Ch.* 574/2/49. *Hall*, p. 98. Compare "'That the king of France having any occasion to write for matter of grant.'"—*Id.* 364, 366.

liv *Burgundy's oath* (V. ii.). *Summary* (I. *Prolog.*—II. iv.).

style of king of France during his father-in-law's lifetime.¹ *Præclarissimus* is a misprint, copied from the *Chronicles*, for *Præcarissimus*.²

Shakspeare ends his play with these words, spoken by Henry :—

“ My lord of Burgundy, we'll take your oath,
And all the peers', for surety of our leagues.
Then shall I swear to Kate, and you to me ;
And may our oaths well kept and prosperous be ! ”³

The *Chronicles*⁴ give the duke of Burgundy's oath *in extenso*. He and the other French nobles swore fidelity in the same terms on the ratification of the treaty, and before Henry's marriage took place.

VI. SUMMARY OF RESULTS. Prologue. Act I. ll. 5—8 (Henry and the dogs of war) *Chronicles*.

Act I. sc. i. ll. 9—19 (Confiscation bill) *Chronicles*;—ll. 75—81, and Act I. sc. ii. ll. 132—135 (The clergy's subsidy) *Chronicles*.

Act I. sc. ii. ll. 33—100 (Chicheley's speech) *Chronicles*. In ll. 69—71 (Hugh Capet's title) the *Chronicles* have been copied almost *verbatim*;—l. 77 (Lewis X.) *Chronicles*; *Hall*, Lewis IX.;—l. 86 (Simile of the summer's sun) *Chronicles*;—ll. 98—100 (Citation from *Numbers* xxvii. 8) *Chronicles*;—ll. 108—110, and Act II. sc. iv. ll. 57—62 (Edward III. at Crécy) *Chronicles*;—ll. 167, 168 (Westmoreland's adage) *Chronicles*;—ll. 180—183 (Exeter's speech. Harmony in a state) *Cicero De Republica*;—ll. 183—204 (Chicheley's bee simile) *Lyly's Euphues*;—ll. 254—266 (Tennis-balls' story) *Chronicles*; *Famous Victories of Henry V.*;—l. 282 (The gun-stones) *Caxton's Chronicles*.

Prologue. Act II. l. 6, “the mirror of Christendome.”—*Hall*;—ll. 8—10 (Expectation) Woodcut of Edward III. in the *Chronicles*;—ll. 20—30 (Cambridge's conspiracy) *Chronicles*.

Act II. sc. ii. l. 8; ll. 96, 97; ll. 127—137 (Henry's confidence in Scrope) *Chronicles*;—ll. 155—157 (Cambridge's ambitious designs) *Chronicles*;—ll. 166—188 (Henry's addresses to the conspirators and to his nobles) *Chronicles*.

Act II. sc. iv. (The first French council of war) *Chronicles*; *Famous Victories*;—ll. 102—109 (Exeter's speech) are based on the *Chronicles*;—

¹ The *Chronicles* extracted the treaty from *Hall*, pp. 46—100. *Hall* seems to have englishted the text given by *Elmham*, pp. 253—266, who says, “*tam in lingua Gallica, quam Anglica, ejusdem concordie articuli patim per urbis Trojes, medium prædicantur, quorum quidem articulorum de verbo in verbum tenor sequitur in hunc modum.*”—p. 253. *Hall* shortened the preamble, and left out all the data & expressions of the last clause, in which Henry swore to observe the treaty, and confirmed to Charles VI. the rights guaranteed him in previous clauses. In Morant's French version, iv. 240—253, the preamble is different, and the whole document runs in the name of Charles VI. ² *Hall* has *Præcarissimus*. ³ *I. I.* pp. 462.

⁴ From *Livius*, p. 85. The *Chronicles* give the Latin text, and an English version of it. *Ch.* 572/2/48.

l. 102, "in the bowels of Jesus Christ"—*Chronicles*. Shakspeare has altered the date of Exeter's embassy from February to August, 1415.

Prologue. Act III. ll. 28—31 (The archbishop of Bourges's embassy) *Chronicles*.

Act III. sc. ii. ll. 58—70 (Siege operations at Harfleur conducted by Gloucester. The countermines) *Chronicles*.

Act III. sc. iii. ll. 44—58 (Surrender of Harfleur. Harfleur entrusted to Exeter. Sickness in the English army. The march to Calais resolved on). In ll. 46, 47, from "that his powers," to "great a siege," the *Chronicles* have been copied almost *verbatim*.

Act III. sc. v. (The second French council of war) *Chronicles*. The speeches are Shakspeare's. For l. 1 (Passage of the Somme);—ll. 40—45 (Roll of the French nobles);—ll. 54, 55 (The captive chariot for Henry V.);—and l. 64 (The Dauphin detained at Rouen) the *Chronicles* are his authority.

Act III. sc. vi. ll. 1—12, and ll. 94—100 (Defence of the bridge over the Ternoise) *Chronicles*;—ll. 41, 42, and ll. 105, 106 (Execution of a soldier for stealing a pyx) *Chronicles*;—ll. 113—118 (Henry's disciplinary regulations) *Chronicles*;—ll. 149—151; 169—174 (Henry's answer to Montjoy) *Chronicles*;—ll. 170, 171, "I die your tawnie ground with your red bloud"—*Chronicles*;—l. 167 (Money given to Montjoy) *Chronicles*. Montjoy's defiance was delivered after the passage of the Somme, according to the *Chronicles*.

Act III. sc. vii. (The French nobles' swaggering talk) suggested by the *Chronicles*;—ll. 93, 94, and Prol. Act IV. ll. 18, 19 (The French cast dice for the English) *Chronicles*;—ll. 135, 136, and Prol. Act IV. ll. 5—7 (Distance between the two camps), according to the *Chronicles*, about 250 paces;—ll. 161—166 (Englishmen can't fight if deprived of their beef) *Hull*; 1 *Hen. VI.*; *King Edward III.*; and *Famous Victories*;—ll. 168, 169 (Orleans's boast) According to the *Chronicles*, the French were drawn up ready for battle between 9 and 10 a.m.

Prologue. Act IV. ll. 8, 9 (The watch fires) *Chronicles*;—ll. 22—28 (Sickly aspect of the English) *Chronicles*.

Act IV. sc. i. l. 312 (Re-interment of Richard's body) *Chronicles*;—ll. 315—319 (Henry's alms-deeds and chantries) *Fabyan*; *Stow*; possibly Caxton's *Chronicles* also.

Act IV. sc. ii. ll. 60—62 (The Constable's guidon) *Chronicles*. This story is told of Antony, duke of Brabant.

Act IV. sc. iii. l. 3 (Number of the French) *Chronicles*;—ll. 16—18 (Westmoreland's wish) *Chronicles*, where the wish is attributed to "one of the host";—ll. 20—67 (Henry's answer to Westmoreland) differs entirely from the *Chronicles*' version, except in ll. 20, 21;—ll. 79—81 (Henry's ransom demanded) *Chronicles*. According to the *Chronicles*,

a herald was sent ;—ll. 122, 123 (The French shall have naught save Henry's dead body) *Chronicles*;—ll. 129—132 (Command of the vaward given to York) *Chronicles*.

Act IV. sc. iv. (Pistol and the French soldier) *Famous Victories*, perhaps the *Chronicles* also.

Act IV. sc. vi. ll. 36—38 (Massacre of the prisoners) *Chronicles*.

Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 1—10 (A raid on the English baggage the cause of the massacre) *Chronicles*;—ll. 59—68 (Remnant of the French host ordered to depart) *Chronicles*;—ll. 74—94 (Montjoy asks leave to bury the dead. Henry's talk with Montjoy) *Chronicles*;—ll. 161, 162 (Henry's encounter with Alençon) *Chronicles*.

Act IV. sc. viii. ll. 81—105 (Lists of the French taken captive or slain) *Chronicles*. The *Chronicles* have been followed very closely ;—ll. 108—111 (The English losses) *Chronicles*. Shakspeare has taken the lowest estimate ;—l. 128 (Thanksgiving for the victory) *Chronicles*.

Prologue. Act V. ll. 9—11 (Henry's reception on landing), perhaps from *Stow*;—ll. 12, 13 (The homeward voyage) The turbulent sea, which, according to the *Chronicles*, Henry encountered, may be alluded to here ;—ll. 16—28 (Henry's reception on Blackheath. His humility) *Chronicles*;—ll. 38, 39 (The emperor Sigismund's mission of peace) *Chronicles*.

Act V. sc. ii. ll. 5—7 (The meeting at Troyes brought about by Philippe le Bon) *Chronicles*;—ll. 68—71 (Henry's conditions of peace), perhaps suggested by the *Chronicles*;—ll. 98—306 (The wooing scene) *Famous Victories*. Special resemblances may be traced in ll. 149, 150 (Henry's lack of eloquence); ll. 178, 179 (Katherine says she can't love the national foe); l. 267 (She's at her father's disposal); and ll. 301—306 (Her influence over Henry);—ll. 142—145 (Henry's agility) *Chronicles*;—ll. 364—370 (Henry styled *Hares Francie*) *Chronicles*;—ll. 399, 400 (Oath of the French nobles) *Chronicles*.

Dramatis Personæ. Act III. sc. vi. (Exeter). According to the *Chronicles*, "certain captains" were sent to secure the bridge.

Act IV. The *Chronicles* do not record that Bedford, Westmoreland, Warwick, and Salisbury were present at Agincourt. They make Exeter present at the battle.

Act V. sc. ii. Exeter was, according to the *Chronicles*, present at the Meulan conference in 1419. They make Clarence and Gloucester, Warwick and Huntington present at Troyes in 1420. Westmoreland's presence, either at Meulan or Troyes, is not mentioned in the *Chronicles*.

VII. CHARACTER OF HENRY V. Having now compared our play scene by scene with the *Chronicles*, I shall endeavour briefly to consider the character of Henry V., as Shakspeare has conceived it. There is at

the end of Henry the Fifth's reign, in the *Chronicles*,¹ a summing up of the king's qualities, moral, mental, and physical, written by Hall; to which perhaps Shakspeare turned for hints on the general treatment of his hero's character. An examination of Shakspeare's debt to Holinshed here may, I trust, prove interesting. But before entering on it, I should like to say a few words on Henry's reformation.

In *Henry IV.*,² Pt I, the prince, the boon companion of Poins and Falstaff, tells us that his dissoluteness is a mere disguise to be easily cast off, when he thinks proper to allow men to see his real self.

"So, when this loose behaviour I throw off
And pay the debt I never promised,
By how much better than my word I am,
By so much shall I falsify men's hopes;
And like bright metal on a sullen ground,
My reformation glittering o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off."³

Such conduct is defined by Bacon⁴ as Simulation, "when a man industriously, and expressly, feigns, and pretends to be, that he is not."⁵ Simulation, Bacon holds to be the "more culpable, & lesse politicke," of the three habits of mind he is discussing: Secrecy, Dissimulation, and Simulation. He says it shows "a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearefulness; Or a Minde that hath some maine Faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation*, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of ure."⁶ Putting aside the consideration of the first and last characteristic as obviously inconsistent with any worthy object, it is to be observed concerning the second, Fearfulness as a cause or sign, that the affectation, for example, of vicious living for the sake of allaying the suspicions of a jealous tyrant, has for its justification a reasonable aim, whatever we may think of its method. Thus Cæsar may have feigned to be an idle profligate in order to soothe the misgivings of Sulla. Here besides the motive of self-preservation, the consciousness of the great destinies reserved for him, upon which the hopes of his party and his country depended, was a reasonable cause for such simulation. This case is covered by Bacon's salvo. He held Simulation to be "more culpable and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters." Let us take another case. A man may deliberately live dissolutely for a time, thinking that for the formation of a many-sided

¹ Ch. 583/159. *Hall*, pp. 112, 113.

² Act I. sc. ii. ll. 219-241.

³ Ll. 232-239.

⁴ *Essays*, vi. *Of Simulation and Dissimulation*, p. 18, ed. Wright. (*Golden Treasury Series*.)

⁵ P. 10.

⁶ P. 21

character, life must be experimentally studied in its evil as well as good phases, both being allowed to have a share in building up his personality. In such a case there is no simulation; on the contrary, he who pursues this plan of self-culture disregards the censures of those who judge him by his present conduct. Warwick evidently looked upon the young Henry's manner of life as a useful training for his future duties; although he does not give the prince the credit of foreseeing and designing this result:—

"The prince but studies his companions
Like a strange tongue, wherein, to gain the language,
Tis needful that the most immodest word
Be look'd upon and learn'd; which once attain'd,
Your highness knows, comes to no further use
But to be known and hated. So, like gross terms,
The prince will in the perfectness of time
Cast off his followers; and their memory
Shall as a pattern or a measure live,
By which his grace must mete the lives of others,
Turning past evils to advantages."¹

In the lines quoted above, the prince shows us the end he has in view throughout his simulation. At first sight one might suppose it was the gratification of most inordinate vanity: he won't try now to win the "golden opinions" which would tickle his self-esteem; but he will belie himself to gain a double meed of popular applause, when at last his true nature is revealed:—

"Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
To smother 'up his beauty from the world,
That, when he please again to be himself,
Being wanted, he may be more wonder'd at,
By breaking through the foul and ugly mist
Of vapours that did seem to strangle him.
If all the year were playing holidays,
To sport would be as tedious as to work;
But when they seldom come, they wish'd for come,
And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents."²

His reformation, Henry tells us, will thus

*"show more goodly, and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off."*³

¹ *Henry IV.* Pt. 2, Act IV. sc. iv. ll. 68—78.

² *Henry IV.* Pt. 1, Act I. sc. ii. ll. 221—231.

³ Ll. 237—239.

Now if Henry was really influenced by such a motive, one might not only take exception to his method, as in the cases propounded above, but must condemn his aim as contemptible. A man to whom this was a cherished hope could not be expected to reach a heroic standard. His nature must be a radically false one, and his objects petty. We cannot suppose the hero of Shakspeare's drama, a king whose fame still lives among us, could ever reason thus; and we must therefore seek some other meaning in these obscure words.

We must, I think, put aside also the culture-in-evil theory, which Warwick broaches, because the prince never even hints at this as a motive. Let me then suggest another interpretation. During his principedom, Henry's conscience often sorely pricked him for his careless, unprofitable existence. Then he would say:—

“I'll so offend to make offence a skill;

Redeeming time when men least think I will.”¹

I suppose Henry means that when hereafter the duties and responsibilities of a sovereign shall rest upon him, he does not doubt his ability to abandon his old way of life, and adapt himself to the new conditions. He will then be the more beloved from the sheer force of contrast between his past and present, for men will observe how swiftly he can cast aside his own pleasure when the well-being of England is concerned thereby. Sometimes he would affect to mock at the devouring thirst for glory which consumed Hotspur, he who “kills me some six or seven Scots at a breakfast.”² In his graver moments, when stirred by his father's reproaches, and nettled at hearing the praises of Hotspur,—always harped upon in invidious contrast,—his defence was in substance the same: Poorly as you think of me, I can, if I choose, lay aside my follies, to win as much, nay, more honour than your paragon has spent his life in strenuously toiling after. When

“This gallant Hotspur, this all-praised knight,
And your un-thought of Harry chance to meet.
For every honour sitting on his helm,
Would they were multitudes, and on my head
My shames redoubled! for the time will come,
That I shall make this northern youth exchange
His glorious deeds for my indignities.”³

¹ I. l. 240, 241.

² *Henry IV.* Pt. 1, Act II. sc. iv. l. 115.

³ *Henry IV.* Pt. 1, Act III. sc. ii. ll. 140—145. His father knew what lay beneath the surface in the prince's character, although he chid him so severely.

“As dissolute as desperate; yet through both

I see some sparks of better hope,

Which elder years may happily bring forth,”

said Bolingbroke, when he heard of his son's challenge.—*Richard II.* Act V. sc. iii. ll.

After the victory at Shrewsbury he fell back into the old courses. The need for exertion was passed. Thus I understand the at first sight repulsive lines where he says his reformation will

"Show more goodly, and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off"

not to be the deliberate calculations of vanity, but a salve for his conscience, a sophism to excuse his unwillingness to leave his joyous youth behind him, and turn, so early as the king would have him, to the wearisome duties of his station. At last, by proving himself better than even a sober, well-conducted prince could have been expected to be, he would win men's hearts by storm. In the mean while he might follow his bent. For he liked those men, Falstaff, Bardolph, and the rest, they were constant food for his sense of humour, of which he had a large share; and he liked too a free life, unencumbered by state, and mingling with the people,—with the rogues especially, because they were so amusing,—noting their ways, unmoved by their coarseness, but regarding them with the tolerance of a large mind. Read the opening of the scene in the Boar's Head, where he is brimful of laughter at a fresh bit of hum in nature, and chuckles over his mastery of drawers' language. He has "sounded the very base string of humility"¹ for this new insight. There is no sneering in his merriment, he doesn't despise the poor fellows who have amused him; surely a more genial, lovable young prince, with a more catholic feeling for humanity, never was seen. He could truly say: *Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto.*²

It should be borne in mind that the prince's sins are very venial ones. Even if he takes a purse, the money is repaid to the owner with interest.³ He is never guilty of cruelty or injustice. The *Chronicles*

20—22. With more assurance the king spoke, when his son offered to meet H. in single combat.

"And, prince of Wales, so dare we venture thee,
Albeit considerations infinite
Do make against it."—*Henry IV.* Pt. 1, Act V. sc. 1. ll. 101—103.

¹ *Henry IV.* Pt. 1, Act II. sc. iv. l. 6.

² *Horatius Timorumenus*, l. 1, 25.

³ After the prince had robbed the robbers, and had his joke with Falstaff, he said: "The money shall be paid back again with advantage."—*Henry IV.* Pt. 1, Act II. sc. iv. l. 599. Perhaps Shakespeare came across this passage in *Seneca*: "Being accompanied with some of his young Lords and Gentlemen, he would waste in the great way for his own receivers, and distress them of their money; and sometimes at such enterprises both he and his company were surely beaten; and when his receivers came to him their complaints how they were robbed in their coming unto him, he would give them discharge of so much money as they had lost; and besides that, they should not depart from him without great rewards for their trouble and vexation, especially they should be rewarded that best had resisted him and his company, and of whom he had recovered the greatest and most strokes."—*Annales*, p. 557, ed. 1695.

are clear on this point.¹ "Indeed he was youthfullie giuen, growne to audacitie, and had chosen him companions agreeable to his age; with whome he spent the time in such recreations, exercises, and delights as he fancied. But yet (it should seeme by the report of some writers) that his behauiour was not offensive or at least tending to the damage of anie bodie; sith he had a care to auoid dooing of wrong, and to tedder his affections within the tract of vertue, whereby he opened vnto himselfe a redie passage of good liking among the prudent sort, and was beloued of such as could discerne his disposition, which was in no degree so excessive, as that he deserved in such vehement maner to be suspected."

When the old king was dying the prince was seized with a remorse which no sophisms could dull: "My heart bleeds inwardly that my father is so sick." He must not weep for the father he had grieved by his frivolous ways, least his comrades should taunt him with hypocrisy. Poins speaks plainly enough. Said the prince, "What wouldst thou think of me if I should weep?" Poins would think him "a most princely hypocrite." Bitterly Henry replied, "It would be every man's thought; and thou art a blessed fellow to think as every man thinks: never a man's thought in the world keeps the road-way better than thine: every man would think me a hypocrite indeed."² I have spoken of the prince's offences as venial; yet they lowered him in the eyes of the nation, and sapped his self-respect. The time was close at hand now for his promised reformation, but it might have been less easy if it had not been for this clear vision of himself as such graceless fellows saw him. He found the light-hearted geniality which was at the root of all his follies mistaken by his gross-judging associates for inborn baseness. He was cut off from a part of humankind, forbidden the tears which good men were not ashamed to shed, because, as Poins argued with unflattering candour, "you have been so lewd, and so much engrafted to Falstaff."³ A profligate young prince's grief for a worn-out old king, whose death left him free to follow his own devices, was a thing incredible. Once more Henry visits his old haunts, but while he listens to the shameless wit of Falstaff, the tidings of Archbishop Scrope's rebellion come, and the prince exclaims:—

"By heaven, Poins, I feel me much to blame,
So idly to profane the precious time."⁴

¹ Ch. 539/2/35. Elmham sketches the youthful Henry thus: "*Pro tempore iuventutis lascivia amulatur assiduus, instrumentis organicis plurimum deditus, laxo pudicicie freno, licet Martis tamen Veneris milicia ferventer militans, ipsius fucibus juvenilliter astuabat, aliis quoque insolenciis, atatis indomitæ tempora concomitantibus, inter proba gesta militaria vacare solebat.*"—p. 12. The prince's fondness for music is not noticed by the *Chronicles*.

² Henry IV. Pt. 2, Act II. sc. ii. ll. 51—64.

³ Ll. 66, 67.

⁴ Henry IV. Pt. 2, Act II. sc. iv. ll. 390, 397.

We detect in the would-be heartlessness of his words¹ as he enters the dying king's chamber a last touch of his old reckless temper.

Before concluding this part of my subject, I wish to draw attention to Elmham's² account of Henry the Fourth's death, where an incident, not to be found in Holinshed, is recorded, which recalls to one Warwick's description of the prince's demeanour when his father was dying. Briefly, Elmham's narrative is as follows: The king, whose eyes were dim from weakness, *ut ysaac, præ langore cecato*, asked Prince Henry what the priest, who was then celebrating the divine mysteries in the presence of the dying monarch, was engaged in. The prince replied that the elements were being consecrated, and exhorted his father to adore Christ, "by whom kings reign, and princes have dominion." Raising himself in the bed, as far as his strength would permit, the king with outstretched arms gave thanks and praises to the Saviour; then, just before the elevation of the cup, desiring the prince to draw near and kiss him, he blessed his son, saying, "May the blessing which Isaac gave to his son Jacob be upon thee, my son; and may the Lord grant thee moreover to rule virtuously and peaceably." Thereupon the prince, unable to bear the sight of his father's death, withdrew in bitter grief to a certain oratory, overwhelmed with the thought of the responsibilities now resting upon him, and full of regret for his ill-spent life. The chronicler puts a declamatory prayer in his mouth, which I pass over, and then adds: "Amidst these ejaculations, and countless like them, he cast himself bare-kneed on the ground, and often beating his humbled breast, and invoking the Saviour's mercy with a remorseful soul, drew from the fountains of his eyes most copious showers of tears."³ Compare the speech of Warwick, whom the king, after missing his crown, had sent to command the prince's attendance:—

"My lord, I found the prince in the next room,
Washing with kindly tears his gentle cheeks,
With such a deep demeanour in great sorrow
That tyranny, which never quaff'd but blood,
Would, by beholding him, have wash'd his knife
With gentle eye-drops."⁴

When night came on, Elmham further informs us, the prince went to a certain recluse who lived in Westminster, to whom he confessed his past sins, and after receiving absolution for them, "having cast off the mantle of guilt, he returned, fitly arrayed in the cloak of virtue."⁵

¹ *Idem*. Act IV. sc. v. l. 9

² *Elmham*, pp. 13, 14.

³ *Inter hæc, & innumera similia, nudis genibus in terram prostratus, cor humillatum frequenter tundens, & compuncto spiritu misericordiam Salvatoris invocans, ymbres largissimos lacrimarum ad oculorum fontibus derivavit.*—*Elmham*, p. 15.

⁴ *Henry IV.* Pt. 2, Act IV. sc. v. ll. 83, 88.

⁵ *exutus viciorum deploide, virtutum clumide radit decenter ornatus.*—*Elmham*, p. 15.

We see Henry presented to us in this play under a three-fold aspect ; as a king, a soldier, and a man. In the preceding plays we have but a partial glimpse of his soldierly qualities : at Shrewsbury his father commands, and Henry fights like a knight-errant in quest of honour ; as a man, hardly more than one side of his nature is shown us, with the promise only of a better one coming into view hereafter.

Henry possessed in full measure a most important ingredient of the kingly character : justice. Even in his wild days his sense of right made him submit to the punishment imposed on him by Gascoigne. In the first hours of his reign, when his brothers, Gascoigne, and even Warwick—he who could speculate so philosophically upon the disposition of the prince—greeted the king with such looks as the bassas and kindred of the Great Turk might bestow on their new lord, Henry relieved their fears by the noble words with which he acknowledged the unvarying principle of justice :—

“ You are right, justice, and you weigh this well ;
Therefore still bear the balance and the sword :
And I do wish your honours may increase,
Till you do live to see a son of mine
Offend you and obey you as I did.”¹

He undertakes the French war, not from lust of conquest, nor for the reason which moved his politic father to dally with the project of a crusade—

“ Lest rest and lying still might make them look
Too near unto my state ;”²

but for the recovery of a right pertaining to him as a divinely-appointed monarch, which he could not in conscience forego. A law seems to stand in the way of Henry's claim to the French crown,—this is enough ; the king must be convinced of its baselessness, lest he may incur the guilt of engaging in an unjust quarrel. Solemnly the archbishop is exhorted :—

“ God forbid, my dear and faithful lord,
That you should fashion, wrest, or bow your reading,
Or nicely charge your understanding soul
With opening titles miscreate, whose right
Suits not in native colours with the truth.”³

But if the king is sure of his right its enforcement becomes a sacred duty,—he will not count the cost :—

“ For God doth know how many now in health
Shall drop their blood in approbation
Of what your reverence shall incite us to.”⁴

¹ *Henry IV.* Pt. 2, Act V. sc. ii. ll. 102—106.

² *Idem.* Act IV. sc. v. ll. 212, 213.

³ *Henry V.* Act I. sc. ii. ll. 13—17.

⁴ *Idem.* ll. 18—20.

Again—he condemns the traitors, not for seeking his own hurt: "Touching our person seek we no revenge,"¹ but for plotting the destruction of their country; and no feeling of former affection or weak pity makes him hesitate for a moment. Here we may compare the *Chronicles*,² when we read that his "people him so seure a iusticer both loued and obeyed (and so humane withall) that he left no offense vnpunished, nor frendship vnrewarded; a *terreur to rebels, and suppressour of sedition*."

Deeply conscious of the responsibilities of a ruler, Henry on his accession to the throne at once and for ever dismissed the companions of his careless youth, and drew around him wise and good counsellors. His future course is sketched out in these words addressed to Gascoigne:—

"Now call we our high court of parliament:
And let us choose such limbs of noble counsel,
That the great body of our state may go
In equal rank with the best govern'd nation;
That war, or peace, or both at once may be
As things acquainted and familiar to us."³

"This king," the *Chronicles*⁴ tell us, "euen at first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his person princelie honors should change publicke manners, he determined to put on him the shape of a new man. For whereas aforetime he had made himselfe a companion unto misrulie mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence (but not vnrewarded, or else vnpreferred) inlubitling them vpon a great paine, not once to approach, lodge, or sojourne within ten miles of his court or presence: and in their places he chose men of grauitie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise counsel he might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie." There was never any occasion to dread the influence of ambitious favourites during Henry's reign, far less of those "shallow jesters and rash bavin wits"⁵ who, his father feared, would swarm in the court of another Richard. Even when Henry stoops from his state, and somewhat in the old way jests and talks with his subjects, it is with men like the trusty soldier Williams, or Fluellen, who "need not to be ashamed of your majesty, praised be God, so long as your majesty is an honest man."⁶

I pass now to the consideration of Henry's military genius, and shall first quote the *Chronicles*' estimate of him as a soldier. This "captaine against whome fortune neuer frowned, nor mischance spurned,"⁷ was "of courage inuincible, of purpose vnmutable, so wise-hardie alwaies, as feare was banisht from him; at euerie alarum he first in armor, and foremost

¹ *Idem*. Act II. sc. ii. l. 174.

² *Henry IV.* Pt. 2, Act V. sc. ii. ll. 134—139.

³ *Henry IV.* Pt. 1, Act III. sc. ii. l. 61.

⁴ *Henry V.* Act. IV. sc. vii. ll. 118, 120.

⁵ *Ch.* 583/163.

⁶ *Ch.* 543/158.

⁷ *Ch.* 283/161.

in ordering. In time of warre such was his providence, bountie, and hap, as he had true intelligence, not onelie what his enemies did, but what they said and intended : of his deuises and purposes few, before the thing was at the point to be done, should be made privie. He had such knowledge in ordering and guiding an armie, with such a gift to encourage his people, that the Frenchmen had constant opinion he could neuer be vanquished in battell. Such wit, such prudence, and such policie withall, that he neuer enterprised any thing, before he had fullie debated and forecast all the main chances that might happen, which doone with all diligence and courage he set his purpose forward. What policie he had in finding present remedies for sudden mischeeues, and what engines in sauing himselfe and his people in sharp distresses : were it not by his acts they did plainlie appeare, hard were it by words to make them credible."¹

One of the capacities ascribed to Henry in this eulogium has been brought out by Shakspeare : namely, his "gift to encourage his people." Observe how, at the assault of Harfleur, Henry touches the point of honour, differing according to the rank of his hearers. The men of noble birth are exhorted to remember their victorious ancestry, and justify by preëminent valour their right to be the leaders of the commonalty in war.

"On, on, you noblest English,
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof !
Fathers that, like so many Alexanders,
Have in these parts from morn till even fought
And sheathed their swords for lack of argument :

* * * * *
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
And teach them how to war."

The yeomen are stirred up by an appeal to national rather than personal pride,—let them remember they are Englishmen :—

"And you, good yeomen,
Whose limbs were made in England, show us here
The mettle of your pasture ; let us swear
That you are worth your breeding ; which I doubt not."

Then to all collectively the king addresses these impassioned words :—

"I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,
Straining upon the start. The game's afoot :
Follow your spirit, and upon this charge
Cry ' God for Harry, England, and Saint George ! ' "²

Ch. 5⁸³/2/17.

² *Henry V.* Act III. sc. i. ll. 17—34. Compare Eveline Berenger's speech to the

On the night before the battle, Henry's serene and kingly demeanour is such

"That every wretch, pining and pale before,
Beholding him, plucks comfort from his looks :
A largess universal like the sun
His liberal eye doth give to every one,
Thawing cold fear."

With the sobered remains of his old geniality too, he associates his soldiers with himself as sharers of a common peril :—

"Bids them good morrow with a modest smile
And calls them brothers, friends, and countrymen."

The "courage inuincible" of the fearless king shines forth in his looks :

"Upon his royal face there is no note
How dread an army hath enrounded him ;"¹

yet he knows well the desperate straits his men are in.

"Gloucester, 'tis true that we are in great danger ;
The greater therefore should our courage be."²

Shakspeare has shown a trait of military sagacity in his Henry V. which is not mentioned in the passages from the *Chronicles* quoted above. While checking with the utmost severity any purposeless outrage on the defenceless natives of the invaded country, because "when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner" ;³ the ferocity of his soldiers is a reserve force, the terror of which Henry uses to overcome obstinacy. So in his speech to the men of Harfleur he threatens to inflict on them the utmost miseries which can befall the defenders of a captured town if they do not yield at once. Yet Bardolph for stealing a "pix of little price" is hanged. The king might let loose the dogs of war if he thought fit, but till then he kept a firm hand on their collars. In justice, however, to the historical Henry it must be said that he seems always to have respected the lives and honour of women. At the storming of Caen,⁴ for instance, the unpardonable violence which Shakspeare makes him threaten at Harfleur was forbidden.

defenders of the Garde Doloureuse. "She addressed the various nations who composed her little garrison, each in appropriate language. To the English, she spoke as children of the soil,—to the Flemings, as men who had become denizens by the right of hospitality,—to the Normans, as descendants of that victorious race, whose sword had made them the nobles and sovereigns of every land where its edge had been tried."—Scott's *Retrospect*, chap. viii.

¹ Prologue, Act IV. ll. 41—45 ; ll. 33, 34 ; ll. 35, 36.

² Act IV. sc. i. ll. 1, 2.

³ Act III. sc. vi. ll. 118—120.

⁴ Elmham thus describes the capture of Caen : *Immense virtutis Anglicorum cunei rigidi, villam furibundo circumcumbentes impetu, . . . ceruices dejugabant corporibus,*

Physical endurance, a power by no means unnecessary to a military leader, was possessed by Henry in an uncommon degree. He was "no more wearie of harnesse than a light cloake, verie valiantlie abiding at needs both hunger and thirst; so manfull of mind as neuer seene to quinch at a wound, or to smart at the paine; not to turn his nose from euill sauour, nor close his eies from smoke or dust."¹ "He slept verie little, but that verie soundlie, in so much that when his soldiers soong at nights, or minstrels plaied, he then slept fastest."² At the battle of Shrewsbury, Henry, then prince of Wales, was wounded by an arrow in the face. He, however, refused to withdraw from the field. This incident has been made use of by Shakspeare.³ Henry's faculty for doing without sleep is hinted at in the Prologue⁴ of Act IV. :—

"Nor doth he dedicate one jot of colour
Unto the weary and all-watched night,
But freshly looks and overbears attaint
With cheerful semblance and sweet majesty."

As for the great enterprise which forms the chief subject of this play, it may be thought perhaps that in attempting it, Henry showed himself to be rather foolhardy than "wischardie." But we should remember that if he had returned to England by sea, it would have been generally believed that although he could subdue an ill-supported garrison like Harfleur, yet he dared not face the French army in the field. Thus his military reputation must have been seriously impaired. On the other hand, whether he succeeded in beating or evading the French he was sure to win renown. Nothing, except a defeat, could show the weakness of France more clearly than her inability to interrupt such a

alia membra truncantes, & vulneribus imprimentes vulnera, enses cruoris bibulos, muliebri tamen sexui, & tam etati tenera quam senili parcentes, plaga sanissima sanguine balneabant.—p. xxx. Not only were the lives of women, the aged, and children spared, but *Presbiteralis honor seu sexus femineus nulla dispendia, seu lasuram corporum sunt perpessi.*—p. 113. One of the ordinances published by Henry in his first expedition to France forbid any one on pain of death "to hurt or doo anie violence either to priests, women, or anie such as should be found without weapon or armour," &c.—*Ch.* 549/2/31. If, however, Shakspeare turned to the account in the *Chronicles* of the pitiless beleaguering of Rouen in 1418—19, as from the Prologue of Act I. ll. 5—7, we may suppose he did,—he would have read enough to show him how relentless Henry could be in war.

¹ *Ch.* 583/1/74.

² *Ch.* 583/2/14. During the siege of Harfleur [*ipse* Henry V.] *enim licet, debitis nobilium suorum vigiliis, omni nocte, ut decuit, præservatus, per medium populi excubantis frequenter extens, per cuncta obsidionis loca omnem custodiam videre solebat, quod bene et effectualiter factum prospicit, commendabat, quicquid etiam defecturi subjacuit, in melius sua sapientia redigebat,* &c.—Elmham, p. 46. And to the same effect *Livius*, p. 10.

³ *Henry IV.* Pt. 1, Act V. sc. iv.

⁴ Ll. 37—40.

lxviii *Henry's piety instanced. (Montjoy's defiance.)*

long march. Once undertaken, however, ruin must assuredly have been the result of delay or changed counsels. Here his "purpose immutable" stood Henry in good stead. Delay—by giving the enemy time to bring his hastily-collected and somewhat unwieldy host into better order, and complete the work of destroying the fords and bridges—would have been fatal; the scarcity of provisions was moreover an imperative reason for pushing on as rapidly as possible. The French could probably—except perhaps at an early stage of the march—have cut off Henry's retreat with ease, and have either blockaded him, or obliged him to fight at a disadvantage. Henry's infirm and hungry soldiers, dispirited by a harassing retreat, diminished in number, and with their confidence in their leader perhaps seriously shaken; must thus at last have been compelled to face their inexorable foes. Throughout the latter part of the march, the French, though avoiding a battle, were too near at hand to be eluded by a hasty withdrawal.

Shakspeare has in this play made piety the most marked characteristic of Henry as a man. On God's aid the king relies in the hour of danger; to God he gives the glory of the victory. His was not the mere conventional acknowledgment of a supreme being, whose influence it were, however, difficult to trace; but a real belief in an active ruler of the world who both can and will cause the right to prevail. Thus he answers the French king:—

"My ransom is this frail and sickly trunk;
My army but a weak and sickly guard;
Yet, God before, tell him we will come on,
Though France himself and such another neighbour,
Stand in our way." ¹

Since Henry is convinced of the justice of his claim, his faith supplies him with the firm assurance, that the Lord of hosts will go before him, and smite the upholders of wrong, who have naught on their side to trust in save earthly weapons, and a multitudinous concourse of mortal men. He speaks of their defeat as certain:—

"If we may pass, we will; if we be hinder'd,
We shall your tawny ground with your red blood,
Discolour." ²

There seems to be something significant in his using the word "shall," as though he would disclaim for himself any part in the coming victory, which an immutable Will has now decreed. Montjoy's arrogant message tempted him for a moment to reply as if he confided only in the prowess of his countrymen, but even while the boastful words were passing his lips, came swift remorse, and the king said:—

¹ *Henry V.* Act III. sc. vi. ll. 163—167.

² *Idem.* ll. 169—172.

"Yet, forgive me, God,
That I do brag thus!—this your air of France
Hath blown that vice in me; I must repent."¹

But a man even of so robust a faith as Henry's was has his dark hour to pass through,—the valley of the shadow of death must be crossed. Thus after those weary night-watches, as he stood perhaps listening to the clang of the church clocks² striking out the morning hour, the sound of the armourers' hammers now fast achieving their work, the distant murmur of his men's voices, praying and confessing their sins, broken ever and anon by a cheerful shout, or a peal of insolent laughter from the hostile camp; watching the slow dawn of the long-looked-for, but at this moment half-dreaded day: then,—the fear which his father had striven in vain to drug to sleep with the orthodox opiates of his age clutched Henry's heart also. Was Richard's death atoned for yet, or was the justice of God still unsatisfied? To the heart of this devout, faithful man there came no distinct answer. But one noble and truly religious thought, which raised him in moral dignity far above those who fancied they could bribe the eternal justice with crusades and costly gifts to holy shrines, visited his troubled soul. All he had done was nothing, repentance might avail; let the issue rest with God.

"More will I do;
Though all that I can do is nothing worth,
Since that my penitence comes after all,
Imploping pardon."³

Yet Henry's piety was not of the emotional sort, unapparent in his daily life, but speedily aroused when some great crisis was passing over him. It was, as it were, an every-day garment. We have seen how he rebuked himself during the interview with Montjoy; and on another occasion, when stung to bitter wrath by the taunts of the Dauphin, he checks his terrible threats to say:—

"But all this lies within the will of God,
To whom I do appeal; and in whose name,
Tell you the Dauphin, I am coming on
To venge me as I may, and to put forth
My rightful hand in a well-hallow'd cause."⁴

In the discovery of the traitors he sees the hand of God,—an omen of success; in God's name he calls on the French king to surrender the

¹ *Idem.* ll. 159—161.

² *Proth.* Act IV. l. 15. An anachronism which I leave Shakspeare to answer for.

³ *Henry V.* Act IV. sc. i. ll. 319—322.

⁴ *Idem.* Act I. sc. ii. ll. 289—293.

crown ; when the roll of the slain is brought to him after the battle his first words are :—

“ O God, thy arm was here,
And not to us, but to thy arm alone,
Ascribe we all.”¹

“ Take it, God !
For it is none but thine ;”

and on his triumphal entry into London he resists the entreaties of his lords to indulge himself with the spectacle of the exultant people gazing on the “ bruised helmet, and bended sword ” of their valiant sovereign. Some may think the last instance of Henry's piety I have referred to betokens a superstitious nature, haunted by the fear of a Nemesis dogging the steps, ready to strike at the least sign of presumptuous pride, or biding her time to make the present seeming good fortune the very source of future misery. Looking at Henry from this point of view, we might compare his refusal to have his battered helmet and sword borne before him with the superstitious feeling which required the victorious Roman emperor to ascend the stairs of the Capitol on his knees.² This question must be settled by each one's intuition ; no proof is forthcoming. To me, the piety of Shakspeare's Henry the Fifth seems genuine.

There was a side of the historical Henry's religion which Shakspeare has left alone. We call it bigotry, and as such, we may well suppose, Shakspeare deemed it. I doubt, however, whether his audience would have regarded Henry's orthodox zeal against the Lollards—so much belauded by the chroniclers of the 15th century—from our standpoint. Those amongst it who looked upon the Lollards as their spiritual ancestors could not have endured the presentation of what had seemed to a mediæval mind a cardinal virtue in Henry's character ; yet the reprobation, as a general principle, of all penalties imposed upon religious belief was a mental attitude uncommon in Shakspeare's age. Not much was changed in this respect, save that the heretics of the Plantagenet era were become the martyrs of the Elizabethan. In turning over Holinshed Shakspeare might have lit upon a passage which would, I suspect, have made *him* shudder. The *Chronicles* relate, on the authority of Walsingham, how John Badbice, a heretic, was burnt “ in a tun or pipe ” at Smithfield in 1411. Henry—then prince of Wales—offered

¹ *Idem*. Act IV. sc. viii. ll. 111—117.

² The historical Henry did something very much like this on his entry into Harfleur, in 1425. *Or est vrai que quand après les traités fuicis entre le roy d'Angleterre et ceulx de la ville de Harfleur, et que les portes furent ouvertes, et ses commis entrés dedans, à l'entrée qu'il feist dedans, descendit de cheval et se feist déchausser ; et en telle manière alla jusques à l'église Saint-Martin, paroissiale de cette ville, et feist son oraison, regrasçiant son créateur de sa bonne fortune.*—*St Remy*, vii. 454.

him pardon if he would recant, and on his refusal ordered the fire to be kindled. Moved by the unfortunate man's cries, "the prince caused the fire to be plucked backe, exhorting him being with pitifull paine almost dead, to remember himselfe, and renounce his opinions, promising him not onelie life, but also three pence a daie so long as he liued to be paid out of the kings coffers ; but he hauing recouered his spirits againe, refused the princes offer, choosing eftsoones to tast the fire, and so to die, than to forsake his opinions. Wherevpon the prince commanded that he should be put into the tun againe, from thencefoorth not to haue anie fauour or pardon at all, and so it was doone, and the fire put to him againe, and he consumed to ashes."¹ Shocking as this story is, we must in fairness admit Henry's evidently sincere wish to save Badbie's life as a proof of a humane temper. A man is to be judged by the standard of his own times, not by that of later and more tolerant days ; and we can hardly place ourselves even in imagination in the position of a devout Catholic of the middle ages.

In the *Chronicles*' summing up of Henry's character, which I have already referred to, the religious side is passed over in silence ; but at the beginning of the reign we find these remarks : " But now that the king was once placed in the roiall seat of the realme, he vertuouslie considering in his mind, that all goodnesse commeth of God, determined to begin with some thing acceptable to his diuine majestie, and therefore commanded the cleargie sincerelie and trulie to preach the word of God, and to liue accordingle, that they might be the lanternes of light to the temporalitie, as their profession required. The laie men he willed to serue God, and obeie their prince, prohibiting them aboute all things breach of matrimonie, custome in swearing ; and namelie, wilfull periurie."²

Shakspere makes Henry the Fourth describe his son thus :—

" For he is gracious, if he be observed :
He hath a tear for pity, and a hand
Open as day for melting charity :
Yet, notwithstanding, being incensed, he's flint ;
As humourous as winter, and as sudden
As flaws congealed in the spring of day."³

This conception is carried out in the succeeding play. The Dauphin's insult goads the usually sober-minded king into a state almost of fury. He begins with, and tries to keep up, a tone of bitter irony :—

" We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us ;
His present, and your pains, we thank you for ; "

¹ *Ch.* 536/165. *Walsingham*, ii. 282. 'Badbie was a " tailor, or (as some write) a smith.' *Walsingham*, who doesn't give his name, says he was *arts faber*.

² *Ch.* 543/2/30.

³ *Henry IV.* Pt. 2, Act IV. sc. iv. ll. 30—35.

but soon lapses into open menaces, and ends with these pitiless words :

"So, get you hence in peace ; and tell the Dauphin,
His jest will savour but of shallow wit,
When thousands weep, more than did laugh at it."

Just before, Henry had set forth with cruel precision the practical issue of the Dauphin's witticism:

"many a thousand widows
Shall this his mock mock out of their dear husbands ;
Mock mothers from their sons, mock castles down :
And some are yet ungotten and unborn,
That shall have cause to curse the Dauphin's scorn." ¹

The frank sincerity of Henry's nature appears in his admission to Montjoy :—

"to say the sooth,
(Though 'tis no wisdom to confess so much
Unto an enemy of craft and vantage)
My people are with sickness much enfeebled ;
My numbers lessened ;"

unless we are to regard it as meant to lead the way to the national boast :

"I thought upon one pair of English legs
Did march three Frenchmen." ²

When conversing with the soldiers on the night of the battle, he acknowledges that kings, though obliged to assume a higher port, have at times their secret misgivings, and are generally conditioned like other men ; nay, in his out-spoken honesty, Henry anticipates Herr Teufelsdrückh's Clothes Philosophy, ³ "his ceremonies laid by, in his nakedness he appears but a man." ⁴ In the wooing scene the king courts the princess Katherine with a bluff, devil-may-care straightforwardness. He seems to take pleasure in insisting on his unattractive visage, and lack of courtly graces ; he's a fellow with a "face not worth sun-burning, that never looks in his glass for love of anything he sees there ;" he has "an aspect of iron ;" "when I come to woo ladies I fright them ;" he speaks "plain soldier." If Katherine doesn't care for the true heart he can offer her, why—"that I shall die, is true : but—for thy love, by the Lord, no ; yet I love thee too." Truly he loves her "no more than reason," as is plainly shown when Charles VI. and his nobles re-enter, for Henry is not so much elated by his successful wooing as to bate one jot of his rights. He is content Kate should be his wife, "so the maiden cities

¹ *Henry V.* Act I. sc. ii. ll. 259—296. ² *Idem.* Act III. sc. vi. ll. 151—159.

³ *Sartor Resartus*, chap. ix. "a forked Radish with a head fantastically carved," is Teufelsdrückh's definition of man under similar conditions.

⁴ *Henry V.* Act. IV. sc. i. ll. 209, 220.

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you talk of may wait on her ;" the article too, conferring on him the title of *Heres France*, must be conceded ; then, and not till then, he says :

" Now welcome, Kate :—and bear me witness all,
That here I kiss her as my sovereign queen."¹

We see something of the "purpose vnmutable" again here.

Johnson² criticized the wooing scene unfavourably. He remarked : " This military grossness and unskilfulness in all the softer arts does not suit very well with the gaities of his [Henry the Fifth's] youth, with the general knowledge ascribed to him at his accession, or with the contemptuous message sent him by the Dauphin, who represents him as fitter for a ball-room than the field, and tells him that he is not *to revel into dutchies*, or win provinces *with a nimble galliard*. The truth is, that the poet's matter failed him in the fifth Act, and he was glad to fill it up with whatever he could get ; and not even Shakspeare can write well without a proper subject." No doubt Shakspeare has, as Malone pointed out, taken the similar scene in *The Famous Victories* as his model here, but he has greatly refined it. The wooer is coarse and conceited in the original. I fancy Johnson misunderstood Henry's character as delineated by Shakspeare. Henry the king, was, it is true, majestic in demeanour and wise in counsel ; but the man Henry allowed his naturally homely and genial temperament to have full play. As to the other objection, Henry never figures as a courtier, like he of the pouncet box, who excited the spleen of Hotspur. That exquisite gentleman, I dare say, thought the prince's associates, including Poins and plump Jack, were vulgar fellows. On the other hand, the Osrics of his father's court were too shallow and affected to afford Henry more than a passing laugh. Shrewd, plain men like Fluellen, or witty rogues like Falstaff, pleased him ; not a popinjay " perfumed like a milliner," and using " holiday and lady terms." Revelling and dancing galliards—though the latter has a spice of courtliness about it—are amusements which do not necessarily suggest to one an idea of the polished society they must have been indulged in.

I have already noticed Henry's geniality, ill-regulated in his youthful days, sobered in his mature manhood, but always remaining part of himself ; and shall now glance at a nearly allied quality possessed by him,—humour and a love for mystification. In the midst of his deepest anxieties, a few hours only before the dawn of the most momentous day in his life, he could solace himself by arranging a practical joke on Williams and Fluellen, and one of his first thoughts after the victory

¹ Act V. sc. ii.

² *Variorum Shakspeare*, xvii. 470. Malone's note succeeds Johnson's.

was its consummation. With the same zest he once planned the robbery of Falstaff, in order to enjoy the old rogue's boastful subterfuges, and disguised as a drawer heard Jack's unguarded sarcasms, just as afterwards, wrapped in a soldier's cloak, he listened to the candid opinions of his men. His argument with Williams on the responsibility of kings whose subjects die impenitent, fighting in their quarrel, illustrates another of Henry's characteristics,—a taste for casuistry. He had erewhile tried to solve a case of conscience—how could his unworthy life be justified—by such specious reasoning as we cannot suppose really satisfied him ; now, however, while showing the same casuistical tendency, he establishes, in my judgment, a virtually firm position.

I understand Henry's argument thus : Supposing a king wages an unjust war, he is guilty of the deaths of all who die in his cause, whether they are good or bad men. His guilt is not incurred because some of his soldiers being evil-livers are cut off in the midst of their sins. If this were so the king must be accountable for their deaths even if they died in a just war. As long as a man persists in iniquity, he does so with the full knowledge that he may be called to account for his transgressions at any moment. If so, is the manner or agency by which this is brought about at all material? Knowing his imminent danger and responsibility also for his actions, can any of his guilt be transferred to the king, who, engaging his services amongst a number of other men of all shades of morality, was the indirect means of causing him to die impenitent? If so, war is wrong, *per se*, whether waged for just or unjust reasons, since it is clearly impossible to select pious soldiers only. If, however, war is allowable for just causes, we shall conclude that a sovereign's responsibility in the matter depends solely on the justice of his quarrel.

The last subject upon which I wish to offer a few remarks is the significance of Henry's soliloquy before the battle. Shakspeare has presented us with two other analyses, like Henry's, of the kingly estate stripped of its pomp and circumstance. But Richard II., Henry IV., and his heroic son regard the general result they arrive at—the vanity of mere prideful domination—from different points of view.

Richard II.—sinking into despair as soon as fortune has passed from him to his rival—can think of nothing save the mutability and deceitfulness of all which surrounds a king. He sees the royal actor, allowed

“a little scene

To monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with looks,”

swaying his sceptre, and assuming the airs of a divinity ; mocked the while by the apish Death, till the jester grows weary of his sport, and with a touch—“farewell king.” Richard once thought he was fashioned

of a different clay from other men ; the illusion has vanished : " I live with bread like you, feel want, taste grief, need friends." He cannot attain the dignity of a deposed ruler, who, if not a sovereign *de facto*, yet as a king *de jure*, fails not to exact in adversity the deference due to his rank. No—he will "talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs;" and say to his faithful followers :

"Cover your heads, and mock not flesh and blood
With solemn reverence ; throw away respect,
Tradition, form, and ceremonious duty." ¹

These are the utterances of a weak man, insolent and cruel in prosperity—witness Richard's treatment of his dying uncle ;²—but in adversity, nerveless, irresolute, feebly bemoaning his ill fate, instead of bearing it with dignity, or striking for his right.

Henry IV. dwells upon the toils of the regal office, the anxious watching over the state machine :—

"You perceive the body of our kingdom
How foul it is ; what rank diseases grow,
And with what danger, near the heart of it,"

he says to Warwick. There are traitors to be opposed, among them is one who erewhile "like a brother toiled in my affairs." How unkindly has the friend who was once ready to venture all for Bolingbroke leagued himself with the enemies of the King ! The politic monarch is weary in heart and brain ; sleep, which the meanest of his subjects enjoy, has fled from him. He fancies now that if he could have seen the goal, he would have turned back on the path of his ambition :—

"The happiest youth, viewing his progress through,
What perils past, what crosses to ensue,
Would shut the book, and sit him down and die."

Yet the king's vigour and promptitude in defending the crown, the possession of which has given him so little happiness, is unabated for all his moralizing. We see him, enfeebled by his last sickness, toiling in state affairs at the dead hour of the night, ready as ever to thwart the schemes of traitors. Note, how he casts off his passing despondency when Warwick has finished laying bare the cause of Northumberland's treachery :—

"Are these things then necessities ?
Then let us meet them like necessities ;"

turning afterwards to speak of the forces the rebels can bring into the

¹ *Richard II.* Act III. sc. ii. ll. 144—177.

² *Idem.* Act II. sc. i. ll. 115—123.

field. And also, how the dissimulation which had helped him to the throne comes out, either from habit, or from some indistinct sense that it may still be useful. Recalling the days when, with Northumberland's aid, he was just about to supplant Richard, he says—

" Though then, heaven knows, I had no such intent,
But that necessity so bow'd the state,
That I and greatness were compelled to kiss."¹

We have here the picture of a strong, ambitious man, to whom "Fortune will never come with both hands full,"² saddened by the cares besetting the object he strove for, but still holding that object to be his highest good. He may say, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," but never will he relax his grasp of that "golden care" while life endures.

In his son's soliloquy,³ we are led to compare the analysis of the ceremonious pomp which attends a king with Richard's reflections on the same subject. Richard seems rather to regret the vain and transient nature of that regal ceremony which flatters a king into the belief that he can "monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with looks." To Henry V. such slavish homage would have been distasteful even if it were real and lasting. He wished to govern free men, sharing in their good fortune or adversity, zealous for their honour, labouring for their good. He shrank from the moral solitude in which a tyrant dwells, ruling like a careless god over sorrowful, quaking slaves, whose piteous laments die away ere they can cross the abyss which separates him from them. This feeling, I think, prompted Henry's questionings touching ceremony:—

" Art thou aught else but place, degree, and form,
Creating awe and fear in other men?
*Wherein thou art less happy being fear'd
Than they in fearing.*"

The rash censures of the soldier led Henry to make bitter reflections on the infelicity of kings. For he would fain be a patriotic king, united by intelligent sympathy with his people; and therefore the fear that he might be misjudged, even ignorantly, was very grievous to him. He knew how errors of judgment, deviations, however slight or momentary, from the path of duty, which in private men are condoned as venial, stand out distinctly defined:—

" In that fierce light which beats upon a throne,
And blackens every blot."⁴

¹ *Henry IV.* Pt. 2, Act III. sc. 1.

² *Idem.* Act IV. sc. iv. l. 103.

³ *Henry V.* Act IV. sc. i. ll. 247—301.

⁴ Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. Dedication.

All, moreover, is laid on him—the lives, the eternal salvation even of his subjects. With sad sarcasm he says—

“Upon the king ! let us our lives, our souls,
Our debts, our careful wives,
Our children, and our sins, lay on the king :
We must bear all.”

Toiling honestly for the common welfare, required to reconcile the conflicting interests of all classes of his people, he is

“Subject to the breath of every fool, whose sense
No more can feel but his own wringing !”

Condemned by one whose clear egotistic vision can discern no half-lights or shadows surrounding his particular advantage. If happiness only, the king muses, be an object in life, then

“the wretched slave,
Who, with a body fill'd, and vacant mind,
Gets him to rest, cramm'd with distressful bread,”

is happier than he. The slave lacks nothing but this worthless ceremony, his “profitable labour” holds his thoughts all day, he sleeps well o' nights, while his sovereign watches. With another appeal against shallow, irresponsible carpers, Henry ends his musings :—

“The slave, a member of the country's peace,
Enjoys it ; but in gross brain little wots
What watch the king keeps to maintain the peace,
Whose hours the peasant best advantages.”

In this soliloquy we recognize a wise, strong ruler, who possesses all his father's energy and politic skill, but regards them only as means for insuring the well-being of his country ; whose sole cause of sorrow is not, —how hard it is to be ever contending with traitors, who would rob me of my crown, but,—how bitter is the ingratitude of men who owe all to my provident care, yet for whose patience I may crave in vain.

¶ *Introduction*, p. lix. What Henry says in Act I. sc. ii. ll. 256-268 seems to support a culture-in-evil explanation of his conduct when a prince. But I imagine that this is a retrospective judgment of the influence on his character of his past life ; an influence of which he was unconscious before.

VIII. THE SUBORDINATE CHARACTERS.—There is little in this play to divert our thoughts from the central figure of the king whose name it bears ; nevertheless, the comic scenes, which vary the uniformity of the historical action, present to us a few well-marked characters. Our old friends—Pistol, Bardolph, and Nym ; Mrs. Quickly, and the Boy—reappear, and are finally dismissed. The Boy, we may hope, met with

an honourable death in defending the baggage against the cowardly raiders. He showed, I fancy, before passing from our sight for ever, some signs of a better spirit, awakened, perhaps, by the example of him who had once been called "the madcap prince of Wales." The others came to wretched and disgraceful ends, Pistol excepted, the most cowardly, and, next to Sir John, the most amusing rascal of all that famous company. He retires with nothing worse than a cudgelling, to be turned to good account amongst the "ale-washed wits" of the London taverns. But we know his fate as well as if Shakspeare had recorded it. The first trade by which the quondam Ancient proposed to nourish his declining age was a tolerably safe and lucrative one; but the second was sure, sooner or later, to be cut short at the gallows. We hear of Sir John, smitten by a mortal sickness, and lying, neglected and forgotten, in some shabby room of the old Boar's Head, the scene of his former jollity; with none about him save his graceless retainers, waiting half-sorry, half-curious for the end. And Mrs. Quickly tells us, in her own unconscious way, of her well-meant attempts at comfort; unspeakably bitter, alas! they must have been to the remorseful soul of the dying sinner.

The Princess Katherine is, I suppose, a sketch of a *jeune fille*. Like a well-bred *demoiselle*, she will accept without demur the suitor chosen by her father, but Henry can win no confession of love from her. And until he brings forward this last argument, her father's pleasure, he gets nothing but pretty compliments and evasive answers. After due remonstrance did she yield, with resignation only, to that rude custom of England? We know not. Yet there is a spice of coquetry in the reply when hard pressed, "Is it possible dat I sould love de enemy of France?" and a passing ripple of mischievous mirth must have lit up the downcast eyes, or stirred the demurely-curved lips, while the king was painfully building up an unusually long sentence in French. He perceived it, and exclaimed, "I shall never move thee in French, unless it be to laugh at me." The princess's first lesson in English is a scene which has met with much disapproval from the earlier critics. Theobald evidently thought it unworthy of Shakspeare; Warburton called it "ridiculous," and would gladly have treated it as an interpolation; Hammer and Farmer regarded it as spurious; Johnson pronounced the scene to be "mean enough, when read," yet he admitted that it was amusing on the stage. In the self-complacency of the pupil, and the flattery of the teacher, he saw French vanity and servility.

The liveliness, pugnacity, and overflowing self-confidence of the Dauphin and the French nobles present to us the usual conception of our neighbours' national character. These gallants rush to the battle "with a light heart," troubled by no thought of the future save that the fun can't possibly last long. It is not perhaps a fanciful suggestion, that

the license of repartee indulged in by the Constable and two princes of the blood royal illustrates another national trait; namely, the social equality which Frenchmen value more even than political liberty. The Dauphin is a martialist; he is soon tired of bandying jests with the Constable, and goes away to arm himself, although it is but midnight. The absolute perfection of his war-horse is his stock subject of discourse. In vain does Orleans try to divert the talk into another channel, and though at last he despairingly exclaims, "No more, cousin," yet the Dauphin inexorably rehearses the accustomed praises, convinced that no rational creature can be weary of such a theme.

In Fluellen, the military Welshman, we find the same amusing pedantry which was a chief characteristic of Shakspere's Welsh parson. Fluellen felt, as did Sir Hugh Evans, that his mission was to set people right. And his duties in this respect were not confined by any narrow professional limits, to the exposition of the "disciplines of the wars," for he promptly exposes the inaccuracy of Pistol's description of Fortune, adding, moreover, a moralization for the Ancient's further benefit; and explains to Gower the use of synonyms and the true application of a simile. Fluellen was somewhat of a martinet, yet his sense of the dignity of human nature had not been drilled out of him, for his answer to Henry's tentative remark (IV. vii. 141—143) shows more regard for personal honour than for military discipline. He was devoted to Henry; with loving pride he claims the victorious king as a countryman; he is overjoyed at receiving his sovereign's glove to wear as a favour; but all this is unalloyed by any servility. He renders to Henry's greatness the willing deference of an ingenuous mind, but with a qualification, "so long as your majesty is an honest man." Significant, too, of Fluellen's affectionate nature is the eagerness with which he seizes an opportunity of saying a good word for Gower (IV. vii. 156, 157), whose fancied good fortune he afterwards so joyously announces (IV. viii. 2—5), and the tender simplicity of his reply to Henry's question, "Knowest thou Gower?" "He is my dear friend, an please you." Though "hot as gunpowder," Fluellen is no reckless brawler; he can stomach an affront so long as military discipline or etiquette impose upon him the duty of forbearance. The bully Pistol, who took advantage of this apparent pusillanimity, found at last to his cost that the despised Welshman's cudgel had only been held in reserve till time and place might befit its use. When Pistol's day of reckoning comes we notice a kind of grim humour (although humour was not Fluellen's characteristic) in the jesting allusion to the *Squire of Low Degree*, and the gift of a groat to heal the discomfited swaggerer's broken pate.

Macmorris is touchy, and given to scold everybody and fume with impatience if matters don't turn out so well as he had hoped. His angry answer (III. ii. 132—135) betrays, I fear, the weakness of being

half-ashamed of his country. Jamy is a calm and reasonable being, who will do his best, but won't fash himself. He is ever on the look out for crumbs of knowledge, and regards an irritable temper as a mournful proof of human folly. Gower is an honest, estimable man. Bates and Williams, if one judged them by their words, might pass for most disloyal subjects, but in reality they only avail themselves of the freeman's privilege of sharply criticizing the ruling powers. The king knew their hearts, and, indeed, Bates soon (IV. i. 200, 201) justifies his confidence.

The speeches of the English nobles have usually either been derived from or suggested by the *Chronicles* and other sources. Exeter holds the most important place, and to him alone is assigned a quite original speech, in a scene also which has no parallel in the *Chronicles*. The speeches of Charles VI. are calm and prudent, although in Act III. sc. v. he is somewhat infected by the bluster of his son and the French nobles. The anarchy caused by the king's want of "sound memorie," as the *Chronicles*¹ term it, contributed to Henry's success, but Shakspeare makes no allusion to this. There is a marked contrast between Burgundy's dignified and statesmanlike language when pleading for peace and his clumsy and not very refined raillery on re-entering after the wooing scene. What he caught sight of on his return assured him that all was well, and his outburst of jocosity manifests relief from deep anxiety, veiled till now beneath the calm demeanour of a diplomatist.

IX. POLITICAL TEACHING OF HENRY V.—Mr. Simpson has pointed out that Shakspeare has gone beyond the *Chronicles* in giving Henry, in Act I. sc. ii., a speech full of anti-Scottish feeling; while, on the other hand, Act III. sc. ii. introduces us to the Scotch captain Jamy, who, as we may infer from his words and his association with the other captains, serves in the English army not as a mere mercenary, but as a loyal subject. Hence Mr. Simpson suggested that "*Henry V.* was planned at a time, like 1598, when there was ill-feeling towards France and Scotland." The meeting of the four captains to discuss a tactical question of common interest to all was, he considered, intended to symbolize the Essexian policy of a union of the four nations as partakers in the perils and glories of a foreign war.² The following consideration tends to confirm Mr. Simpson's belief that Shakspeare had such a special purpose in view. The fact, recorded by the *Chronicles*,³ that Henry employed Irish troops in his French wars might possibly have suggested to him the introduction of an Irish captain; but Jamy was created in despite not only of Shakspeare's chief authority, but also of a very strong national prejudice. Moreover, I am inclined to regard Henry's openly-professed pride in his

¹ *Ch.* 557/a/x. *Hall*, p. 75. *bonne mémoire*.—*Monstrelet*, i. 55.

² *The Politics of Shakspeare's Historical Plays*, in the *New Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874. ii. 426, 427.

³ *Ch.* 565/a/70. From *Hall*, p. 83. *Monstrelet* (iv. 115) gives a singular description of these Irish auxiliaries, who were present at the siege of Rouen.

Welsh descent, and the severe rebuke which Pistol receives from Gower for insulting Fluellen on the score of his nationality, as forming, when taken together, a lesson to those whose narrow provincialism caused them to delight in vulgar jests at their neighbours' character and customs.¹

I should here observe that Dr. Nicholson assigns to the F^o sc. ii. in Act III. a later date than the Q^o version of it, believing that the former is part of a revision and expansion of the Q^o edition of *Henry V.* (in which Jamy and Macmorris do not appear), made by Shakspeare after the union between England and Scotland was an accomplished fact. If this be so, Jamy was not a political forecast, but a character to which a Jacobean audience was becoming accustomed. According to this hypothesis, Macmorris's anger when his "nation" was mentioned is explained by the fact that all hope of independence for Ireland had been crushed by the successes of Lord Mountjoy, under whose vigorous rule Tyrone had been reduced to submission. Nationality was thus a very sore subject with Macmorris, and in the slightest reference to it his morbid sensitiveness detected a covert sneer. The hit, too, would be appreciated by an English audience.

But besides the racial antipathies which divided the inhabitants of these islands, there was a potent source of disunion among Englishmen. A large part of the nation was allied by faith to the national foe, and, at the crisis of the struggle with Spain, politicians might justly fear lest the ties of religion should prove stronger than those of patriotism. Moreover, the increasing severity of the government tended to widen still more the breach between Protestant and Catholic; and, it might be apprehended, to inspire in the latter a desire for revenge even at the cost of his country's freedom. The reign of Henry V. was a good subject for a dramatist who wished to cure his countrymen of these suicidal hatreds through an appeal to the national pride, by showing them what their ancestors had achieved when, abandoning civil strife, they bent all their energies to the successful prosecution of a foreign war. This I presume to be the general political teaching of our play, but in two instances Shakspeare seems to address his audience more directly. When Bates said to Williams and the disguised king, who were exchanging defiance on the very eve of the great battle, "Be friends, you English fools, be friends; we have French (*sic*, Spanish) quarrels enow, if you could tell how to reckon,"² may we not suppose that Shakspeare thus warned his hearers that their dissensions put a dangerous weapon into the hand of the common enemy? Such an interpretation is, of course, a conjectural one, but it can hardly be doubted that ll. 16—20 in the prologue of Act II. were levelled at those traitors who, by their

¹ Cf. Act IV. sc. vii. ll. 109, 110, and Act V. sc. i. ll. 73—83.

² Act IV. sc. i. ll. 239—241.

intrigues with the Spaniard, endangered the liberties of England, or, at least, checked her career of conquest.¹

We do not learn from the *Chronicles* that the conspirators against Henry V. showed any sorrow for their treason. Shakspeare, however, makes them utter the most fervent expressions of penitence. After the king's scathing speech, remorse forbids any further pleas for mercy, and they acknowledge, with more than resignation, the justness of their doom. This somewhat unusual magnanimity of sentiment finds a parallel in the words of Dr. William Parry, who was executed in 1585 for plotting the queen's assassination. Parry pleaded guilty at his trial, and, moreover, with his assent, a detailed account of the plot, written by himself, was openly read in court. Thus his confession became widely known. For the government, having been accused of acting in such cases from bigoted motives, desired to give the utmost publicity to Parry's voluntary avowal, by which it might clearly appear that he was not condemned to death for religion's sake, but for treason. At the foot of Parry's confession occur these words, in their spirit resembling the speeches of the traitors in *Henry V.*—"God preserve the queene, and incline hir mercifull hart to forgiue me this desperat purpose, and to take my head (with all my hart) for hir better satisfaction."² There is also a verbal likeness between the last line of Sir Thomas Grey's speech and a phrase in a letter written by Parry to Elizabeth, which ends thus: "I haue no more to saie at this time, but that with my hart & soule I doo now honour & loue you, am inwardlie sorie for mine offense, and readie to make you

¹ So late as 1628, Earle said of the Church Papist: "But we leaue him hatchling plots against the State, and expecting *Spinola*."—*Micro-cosmographie*, 16, Arber's ed., p. 32. Shakspeare had a kindly feeling for followers of the old faith who didn't meddle with state affairs. He gave us two benevolent friars in *Much Ado* and *Romeo and Juliet*, but in *John*, III. i. 147-171, spoke his mind plainly about the pope's pretensions. In 1587 appeared a pamphlet written by Cardinal Allen, defending the conduct of Sir William Stanley in surrendering Deuenter to the Spaniards. Mr. Simpson thought that Henry's argument (IV. i. 154-196) was an answer to Allen's. See *New Sh. Soc. Trans.* for 1874, Pt. II. p. 419. From this conclusion I venture to dissent. Allen's purpose was to show that no Roman Catholic soldier could, by pleading the command of his sovereign, excuse his serving against the followers of his own faith. Dying in such a cause, he was assuredly damned. The moral obligations of the soldier, and the prudence—considering the dangers of his profession—of being careful to obtain absolution for their violation, are matters hardly touched upon. These, however, form the subject of Henry's argument, while the soldier's duty in relation to a heretic prince is not even alluded to. Compare with Henry's words (II. ii. 180, 187), quoted by Mr. Simpson, Allen's *Defence of Sir William Stanley's surrender of Deuenter* (Cluetnam Soc.), pp. 13 and 18-22.

² *Ch.* 1587/1588. There is a very full account of Parry's case in the *Chronicles*, pp. 1382-1395. See also Hargrave's *State Trials*, vol. i. coll. 121-123, ed. 1776. These words of Parry are printed as a postscript in the *State Trials*. In the *Chronicles* they are preceded by a paragraph sign and followed by his signature.

amends by my death and patience. Discharge me *A culpa* but not *A pena*, good ladie."¹

An allusion in the prologue of Act V. affords, as I have already remarked, good grounds for supposing that *Henry V.* was produced during the absence of the earl of Essex in Ireland. The conciliatory policy to which Essex was inclined was in advance of the times, and exposed him to the suspicions of the queen, and the misconstructions of his political enemies. It is possible that the maxim which Shakspere put into the mouth of his Henry V., "When lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentler gamester is the soonest winner,"² conveyed the poet's approval and recommendation of Essex's proposed method of dealing with the Irish question. During his administration of Ireland, Essex wrote to the queen a remarkable letter,³ containing, besides suggestions for the prosecution of the campaign, a proposal for overcoming the rebels' resistance by means of corruption and an apparent acquiescence in their desire for freedom from English rule. After pointing out that the cattle, oatmeal, and other victuals were in the rebels' hands, that before his arrival they had been masters of the field, and now expected, through Spanish help, to gain most of the towns before relief could be sent, the earl proceeded thus: "So that now if your Maiesty resolute to subdue these Rebels by force, they are so many, and so framed to be Souldiers, that the warre of force will be great, costly, and long. If your Maiesty will seeke to breake them by factions amongst themselves, they are couetous and mercenary, and must be purchased; and their Iesuites and practising Priests must be hunted out and taken from them, which now doe sodder them so fast and so close together. If your Maiesty will haue a strong party in the Irish Nobility, and make vse of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English gouernement, till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall see no safety but in your Maiesties protection." In a subsequent letter⁴ to the council

¹ Ch. 138^v/157. Johnson pointed out the similarity.—*Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 314, ed. 1827.

² Act III. sc. vi. ll. 118—120.

³ Printed by Moryson in his *Itinerary*, Pt. II. pp. 34—37. The letter is dated June 25. I quote *Moryson*, II. 35.

⁴ Birch's *Elisabeth*, ii. 423. The querulous tone of this extract often recurs in Essex's letters from Ireland. He complained of the incompetence of the council there; the lessening of his authority by the queen's interference with his appointment of Southampton as master of the horse; the sickness of the army, and the number of desertions from it; certain unnamed persons who treated secretly with the rebels; and the insufficient forces at his disposal.—Birch's *Elisabeth*, ii. 420, 422, 423, 424, 427. In the letter I quote at p. lxxxiii. Essex complained of Cobham's and Raleigh's favour with Elizabeth. "I will forbear others for their places sake."—*Moryson*, II. 36. In a letter dated Sept. 14, the queen criticized Essex's conduct of the campaign most severely, and, moreover, blamed him for filling his papers "with many impertinent arguments, being in your generall Letters, savouring still in many points of

he again refers to this scheme in these terms : " Shall I reduce this kingdom by composition? I might justly have conceived great hope of effecting it, had her Majesty's wonted favour towards me continued, and had it shined over me in such brightness as this service requireth. But now who will be desirous to come under a roof that threateneth ruin? or who will make his way to safety by him that is no way safe himself?" Shortly before his sudden return to England, Essex had two interviews with Tyrone, who, finding himself in a position to dictate his own terms of peace, demanded a general pardon for the rebels, the reinstatement of the Irish in the lands which the English had dispossessed them of, and toleration for the Roman religion throughout the kingdom.¹ Essex accepted these conditions, made a truce with Tyrone, and soon afterwards arrived in England. With regard to the last-named article of the truce, there is a discrepancy between authorities. Essex was speedily called to account by the council for agreeing to such derogatory conditions; and, according to Camden,² he advised that the queen should confirm them all, and urged in his own defence Tyrone's refusal to listen to any others. Moryson,³ however, reports that Essex, in his after examination at York House, said that he flatly rejected Tyrone's request for toleration in religion. The conference with Tyrone was one of the five offences laid to Essex's charge by Attorney-general Coke in his speech at York House in June 1600. Speaking on this head, Coke humours, that concerne the priuate of you our Lord Lieftenant; we doe tell you plainly, that are of that Councell, that we wonder at your indiscretion, to subscribe to Letters which concerne our publike seruice, when they are mixed with any mans priuate, and directed to our Counsell Table, which is not to handle things of small importance."—*Moryson*, II. 40. This letter caused Essex's return.

¹ Camden's *Annals*, ed. Hearn, III. 796.

² *Ibid.* At 10 a. m. on Michaelmas eve Essex arrived at Nonsuch, where the court was assembled. The queen received him graciously, but soon showed displeasure at his abrupt return from Ireland, and in the afternoon the earl was examined by some of the council. Nothing, however, was determined. Next morning a full council met to consider his conduct. From 2 p. m. to 5 p. m. Essex was present and made his defence.—Collins's *Sydney State Papers*, II. 127—129. This latter council is, I presume, the one mentioned by Camden.

³ " My Lord of *Canterburies* [Whitgift's] question was concerning the conditions of yielding vnto Tyrone in tolleration of religion; the Earle heartily thanked him for mouing that doubt, & then protested, that it was a thing mentioned in deed, but neuer yielded vnto by him, nor yet stoud vpon by the Traitor, to whom the Earle had said plainly; Hang thee vp, thou carest for religion as much as my horse. Master Secretary also cleared the Earle in that respect, that he neuer yielded to Tyrone in that foule condition, though by reason of Tyrones vaunting afterwards, [cf. Camden's *Annals*, III. 799, 801] it might haue some shew of probability."—*Moryson*, II. 73. Yet in his speech in the Star Chamber, Nov. 28, 1600, Secretary Cecil spoke of toleration in religion as one of Tyrone's conditions, and remarked that it was a needless one, because the laws against harbouring priests are not used with severity there, and masses and popish trumpety are common, and the queen has ever been disposed to recommend the reformation rather by prayer to God than by violent compulsion to those poor ignorant people.—*State Papers, Domestic*, 1598—1601, p. 350.

inveighed against Essex's willingness to tolerate the Roman religion.¹ And there is reason for supposing that the earl would have secured for the Roman Catholics the free exercise of their religion, if his attempt, in the following year, to obtain supreme influence in the state had been successful.² However this may be, the indications still traceable of Essex's policy, slight as they are, lead us, I think, to surmise that if he had been permitted to use his own discretion in governing Ireland he would, like Shakspeare's Henry V., have tempered strictness with some measure of lenity and compromise, instead of enforcing the unmitigated gospel of fire and sword, in which many of his contemporaries had far too much faith.

His Irish policy exposed Essex to grave suspicions of disloyalty, and he never recovered the queen's favour. The earl's popularity was great,³ and in order, therefore, to show more convincingly that his execution was a political necessity, the government published an official declaration⁴ of the treasonable practices in which Essex had been engaged before his open rebellion. The desire of being the first person in a kingdom separated from England by the sea, and of having at his disposal an army to support him in his ambitious designs, were, it was stated, the motives which induced him to undertake the administration of Ireland. In order that the Irish might look to him alone for grace, and that he might thus be enabled, by lenient treatment, to win their affections, he required that his commission should empower him to pardon all rebels at his own discretion, Tyrone even not being excepted. The prosecution of the war formed no part of Essex's plans; he purposely wasted time in useless operations, and sought the first opportunity of coming to terms with Tyrone. All these imputations of motives rested upon mere conjecture, but, in regard to the last point, evidence was offered to show that the result of the conference between Tyrone and Essex was, that

¹ *Moryson*, II. 70.

² At the trial of Essex in 1601, Sir Christopher Blount was examined: "Being asked upon his Conscience, Whether the Earl of *Essex* did not give him Comfort, that if he came to Authority, there should be a Toleration for Religion? he confesseth, he should have been to blame to have denied it."—Hargrave's *State Trials*, vol. i. col. 203, ed. 1775. Essex, he said, had often told him "that he liked not the forcing of men's consciences; and in his usual talk would say, he misliked that any should be troubled for their conscience."—*Idem*, vol. vii. col. 50.

³ When the news of Essex's revolt reached Flushing, the governor, Sir William Browne, thought it expedient to administer an oath of allegiance to the garrison.—Collins's *Sydney Papers*, II. 221. When Essex lay sick at York House, he was publicly prayed for in many of the London churches. This was forbidden by the government.—*Idem*, 153, 156.

⁴ Written by Bacon, at the queen's command. It was reprinted in Basil Montagu's edition of Bacon's *Works*, vi. 299—399. The charges in relation to Essex's government of Ireland, and the evidence in support thereof, occupy pp. 302—313 and 365—369. Cf. *Moryson*, II. 44.

Tyrene agreed to supply Essex with troops for the conquest of England, receiving for his services some substantial reward, variously represented as the sovereignty of Ireland, the vicerealty of the same, or large possessions in England. It is foreign to my purpose to notice the other charges against Essex, and I can only remark that this alleged treasonable compact was attested by evidence of the most vague and insufficient character. Thus the expedition to Ireland, which Shakspeare hailed with such happy auguries, was, as Bacon¹ had predicted, fatal to Essex. For with his personal liberty he did not regain his political influence; he was excluded even from the queen's presence, and the consciousness—so bitter to a proud and active spirit—that he had become a mere cypher in the state tempted him to seek restoration to power in a rash enterprise which cost him his life.

When the French king and queen spoke the closing speeches of *Henry V.*, their words—to some, at least, of the audience—might have seemed to presage the new commonwealth in which Englishman and Scot should clasp hands in brotherly accord, rather than to recall the long-vanished dream of a great Anglo-Gallic monarchy. By this time events had tended towards making the succession of James VI. almost certain. Still the nation was uneasy, for no bequest of the queen or decree of parliament had placed the matter beyond dispute. During the year preceding the appearance of our play, James's agents travelled about in England and Ireland, endeavouring to win the affections of the people for their future sovereign by praising his firmness, prudence, justice, mildness, and other kingly virtues. Books were disseminated, vindicating his title, and pointing out the advantages to be derived from preferring him to any other candidate for the throne. England, it was urged, would be aggrandized by the long-coveted accession of Scotland; the king would put an end to the Spanish and Irish wars, and give freedom to commercial intercourse; he was powerful, had children to succeed him, and was on very friendly terms with the other princes of Christendom.² To the last James was apprehensive of intrigues against him in the English court. Thus, in June 1601, he instructed his ambassadors to obtain a renewal of the queen's promise that his right should be respected;³ Cecil and others were to be conciliated, and warned that the king would be mindful hereafter of ill offices. The temper of the people, especially of the Londoners, was to be ascertained, and if the queen should be in an uncompliant humour the ambassadors were to court the friendship of the lieutenant of the Tower,

¹ *Apology concerning the Earl of Essex*, Bacon's *Works*, ed. Montagu, vi. 253, 254.

² Camden's *Annals*, ed. Hearne, iii. 781, 782.

³ "Nor no cheecs under cure reservid against me, excepted allway," the king sarcastically adds. "If she be not to endure as long as the sunne and the moone."—Birch's *Elizabeth*, ii. 512. James's letter and instructions occupy pp. 510–513.

endeavour to secure the services of the fleet, do all in their power to attach nobles and knights to the king's interest, and see that his friends in every county were well provided with arms. If I have interpreted aright the speeches of the French king and queen, Shakspeare must be numbered amongst those who favoured the succession of James VI. And thus we again find Shakspeare in political sympathy with Essex.¹ For the confirmation—by a parliament summoned for the purpose—of James's title, and, as a consequence, the union of England and Scotland, was one of the chief motives for the earl's unhappy attempt to seize the reins of government.²

X. SOCIAL ALLUSIONS IN *Henry V.* Twice in this play we find an allusion to the state of the prisons in the Elizabethan age. Henry tells the French ambassadors that his passion is under constraint as rigid "as are our wretches fetter'd in our prisons."³ The unpruned hedges of France are likened by Burgundy to the shaggy, unkempt hair of prisoners. From the commiserating word "wretches," I infer that Shakspeare had the debtors in his mind. The humanity that tempers even the punishment inflicted upon acknowledged criminals is a modern refinement; but the misery of debtors—especially of those who had fallen into the clutches of some blood-sucking usurer—caused deep sorrow and shame to Shakspeare's contemporaries. Stubbes tells us how, while walking in the streets, it grieved him to hear the pitiful cries of the debtors "wishing and thyrsting after death to set them at libertie,

¹ Chettle reproves the "siluer tonged *Melicer*" (Shakspeare) for not bestowing a verse on the memory of the great queen who had "graced his desert." Several other poets are censured for the same neglect.—Chettle's *Englands Mourning Garment*, ed. Ingleby (*New Sh. Soc.*, Series IV. Pt. i. p. 93). Mr. Furnivall remarked that Shakspeare's company expected favours from James. Laurence Fletcher, one of their members, had acted before the king in Scotland.—*Introd. Leopold Sh.* p. cvii.

² The earl of Essex told Mr. Ashton, formerly a preacher at Essex House, that the revolutionary enterprise of 1601 had for its object the summoning of a parliament which should formally acknowledge James's title.—*A Letter to Mr. A. Bacon concerning the Earl of Essex*, published by Hearne in the notes to his edition of Camden's *Annals*, iii. 959, 960. The earl said that "in this Intention he had many of the worthiest Persons of the Land in Consent with him." Prudential motives induced the government to forbid the disclosure of their names.—*Idem*, p. 960. Cf. iii. 859. Essex had previously assured James of his support, and had even proposed to assert the king's claim by force of arms. Lord Mountjoy, who had succeeded Essex in the government of Ireland, was to bring four or five thousand men from Ireland to the assistance of the earl's adherents. But James being unready for action, and Mountjoy having ceased to regard such an attempt as justifiable, the affair went no farther.—Sir Charles Davers's confession, in Birch's *Elizabeth*, ii. 470, 471. In 1594, Father Parsons dedicated his *Conference about the Succession* to Essex, remarking that none was "like to have a greater part or sway in deciding of this great affair (when time shall come for that determination) than your honour." Essex was greatly alarmed at this dangerous compliment.—Collins's *Sydney State Papers*, i. 350, 357.

³ Act I. sc. ii. ll. 241—243, and Act V. sc. ii. ll. 42—44.

and loose them from their shackles, gieves, and yron bands."¹ At a later time—and perhaps in Stubbes's days also—some of these unhappy beings were allowed to beg alms from visitors, who, as they entered the Fleet, heard the oft-repeated entreaty: "Pray remember the poor debtors."² Burgundy's simile pictures to us the squalid, half-savage aspect borne by the prisoners; the outward token of the crushing burden of bodily ills and mental anguish that had robbed them of hope and self-respect. "They are all suited in the same forme of nastie pouerty," said Earle. "Onely to be out at elbowes is in-fashion here, and a great Indecorum, not to be thredbare."³ The fortunate ones, who could pay for decent lodging and good food, and satisfy the jailor's demands for fees, might perhaps suffer from little else save the loss of liberty. But for the penniless debtor there was no mercy. He must lie upon filthy straw, naked and hungry, often fettered, thrust into narrow, reeking dungeons amid a crowd of others his fellows in wretchedness, many of whom were afflicted with loathsome or infectious diseases. Mynshul said of a prison: "It is a place that hath more diseases predominant in it, then the Pest-house in the plague-time, and it stinkes more then the Lord-Mayor's dogge-house or Paris-garden in August." If a prisoner resented an injury, he might be put in irons. The applicants for entrance-fees were the porter, jailor, gardener, steward, and cook. The prisoner's chamber-fellows also claimed a gratuity called "garnish." From Taylor, the Water-Poet, we learn that if a prisoner couldn't or wouldn't pay the fees, he was sent to the "hole," which was the worst part of the prison. Those who paid for better lodging had little for their money, seeing that:

"Perhaps the *Taylor* in one stinking roome
Hath sixe beds, for the Gallant and the Groome,
In lowsie linnen, ragged couerlets;
Twelue men to lodge in those sixe beds he sets:
For which each man doth pay a groat a night," &c.

Minshul confirms this report of the comforts of a jail, and the exorbitant price charged for them.⁴

¹ *The Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583, ed. F. J. Furnivall (New Sh. Soc.), Pt. I. p. 127. Cf. Decker's *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, 1606, ed. Arber, p. 45.

² In *The Cries of the Oppressed*, 1692, by Moses Pitt, there is a frontispiece showing the courtyard of the Fleet, in which some visitors are walking about. At two grated ground-floor windows, on each side of the archway leading to the outer gate, appear the debtors. From the mouth of one of them issues a label, bearing the words I have quoted. The engraving, and an account of Pitt's book, will be found in R. Chambers's *Book of Days*, i. 466-468.

³ 58. "A Prison," in *Micro-cosmographie*, ed. Arber, p. 82.

⁴ *Stubbes*, Pt. I. p. 127. Mynshul's *Estayes*, 1618, ed. 1821, pp. 14. 49-53. 64. Taylor's *Brood of Cormorants. A London Sericant and Taylor*.—Spenserian's repr. of his *Works*, p. 492. Concerning the "syckenes of the prisons," Boyle wrote: "And some auctours doth say that it is a Canker, the which doth corrode and eate the upper partes of the body, but I do take it for the sickenes of the prison." The cause was: cir-

In 1593, the prisoners in the Fleet attempted to bring before parliament a bill for the redress of their grievances. About seven years previously they had presented to the lords of the Council a petition, setting forth the iniquities practised in the Fleet.¹ These efforts led to no result, and the first step towards a reformation of prison abuses was not taken until 1727, when the victims of Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, were examined by a committee of the House of Commons.²

The semi-martial character of the morris-dance—with its loud music, prancing hobby-horses, and gaily dressed actors personating Robin Hood and his men—gave point to the Dauphin's sneering comparison between this favourite Whitsuntide amusement and the threatened invasion.³ It would be just such an idle pastime, with an accomplished Lord of Misrule like the reveller of Eastcheap, as its leader. The morris-dance was an established part of the Whitsuntide festivities. The performers were "all the wilde-heds of the Parish," according to Stubbes, who has described their dresses and doings in a tone of withering irony.⁴

But if this simple rustic sport stirred Puritanic bile, there was a ruction of the ayer, and the breth and fylth the which doth come from men, as many men to be together in a lytle rom, hauyng but little open ayer."—*Brugary*, Fol. xxvi, back, quoted in the Forewords to Borde's *Introduction of Knowledge* (E. E. T. S. ed.), p. 72. To the "stinking, noysome and vnsauory smels" in the Compter, Fennor attributed the "perpetuall sicknesse and disease in it . . . it hath more sicknesses predominating in it, then there are in twenty French Hospitals, or at the Bathe, in the spring or fall of the leafe."—*The Compters Common-wealth*, &c., 1617. sign. C. In 1586, thirty-eight Portuguese prisoners of war were sent "vnto the gaole of the castell of Exon, and there were cast into the deepe pit and stinking dungeon." There they contracted the disease known as the "gaole sicknesse." All the other prisoners in the jail were attacked by it, and many of them died. These Portuguese were brought up for trial at the Exeter assizes, and shortly afterwards the judge, many of the leading men in the county, officers of the court, jurymen, and spectators, were seized by the same fatal sickness and also died. Those who were present in the court carried the infection home, and when John Hooker—who sent the account to Holinshed—wrote, in October of the same year, 1586 persons had died of this disease.—*Ch. 1547/a/26*.

¹ The petitioners complained that the Warden had farmed the profits of the Fleet to John Harvey and Thomas Newport, two very poor men, who extorted from them "new Customs, Fines, and Payments," put them in close confinement if they remonstrated, and deprived them of "Meat, Drink, and other Necessaries and Commodities," to which, by the customs of the Fleet, they were entitled. Harvey had the "Victualling and Lodging" of the Fleet; the other profits of the prison were taken by Newport, who was deputy warden. In twenty-eight articles supporting the proposed bill, Joachim Newton, the deputy warden in 1593, was accused, *inter alia*, of murders.—*Strype's Stow*, edit. 1720, vol. i. bk. iii. p. 256.

² The report of the committee is printed in Hargrave's *State Trials*, vol. ix. coll. 107—112, ed. 1776.

³ Act II. sc. iv. ll. 24, 25.

⁴ *Anatomie of Abuses*, p. 147. For particulars concerning the morris-dance, consult Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, and Douce's *Illus-*

greater abomination yet, against which Stubbes and Northbrooke discharged volleys of condemnatory authorities, biblical, patristic, theological, or anything else that might serve the turn. This sprang from the "English dancing-schools," of which Bourbon speaks,¹ for in them "*The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing*," as Stubbes calls it, was made a serious study. Northbrooke bitterly remarked that "wee now in christian countries haue schools of dauncing, howbeit that is no wonder, seeing also we haue houses of baudrie."² "Yea," quoth Stubbes, "thei [the English] are not ashamed to erect schools of dauwcing, thinking it an ornament to their childre: to be expert in this noble science of heathen diuclrie: and yet this people glory of their christianitie & integritie of life."³ "What good," Northbrooke impolitely asked, "doth all that dauncing of yong women, holding vpon menes' armes that they hop the higher?"⁴ So grave a moralist could not, of course, be expected to know the name given to this sinful diversion by its deluded votaries, but I take it to have been the *lavalta*.⁵ Nor would he admit that these dancing-school arts had even elegance to recommend them. "They daunce," said he, "with disordinate gestures, and with monstrous thumping of the feete."⁶ Both he and Stubbes would allow men to dance with men; women with women. Such decorous gambols Stubbes pronounced "a very tollerable exercise."⁷ Even the tolerant Lupton called the pupils in a dancing school, "Antickes," and observed, seemingly as a reproach, that "when they are out, I thinke you will iudge as I doe, they loue the Fæminine gender more then the Masculine." He laid it down as rule that "these Schooles learne men to begin merrily, leaue off sighing, and therefore they are players of Tragedies, not Comedies; I think hee that seldome dances, liues well; but he that neuer, liues best." He concluded: "I had rather haue my body not dance here, for feare my Soule should not like the Musicke: Giue me that place where all is Musicke, but no Dancing."⁸ On the other hand, Sir George Buc placed dancing among the liberal arts, and wrote thus concerning it: "The art of dancing called by the ancient Grecians, Orchestice, and Orchestis (although Tully in his austerity, and out of his

trations of Shakspeare, Diss. iii. An engraving of the characters in a morris-dance—taken from an ancient window—was given in Johnson and Steevens's *Shakspeare*, at the end of *Henry IV.* Pt. I., and in the frontispiece to Knight's *Old England*, vol. I.

¹ Act III. sc. v. ll. 32, 33.

² *A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing . . . are . . . reproofed*, 1579, ed. Collier (Old Sh. Soc.,) p. 166.

³ *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 154.

⁴ Northbrooke, *ibid.*

⁵ The *lavalta* is described in the notes on *Henry IV.* in Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*. See also Sir John Davies's *Orchestra*, stanzas 70-72.

⁶ Northbrooke, p. 171.

⁷ Northbrooke, pp. 152, 154. Stubbes, p. 165.

⁸ *London and the Country Carbonadoed and Quartered into severall Characters*, 1632, pp. 89, 90.

spleene towards M. Anthony, seeing him dance, said, *Nemo salutat sobrius*), is notwithstanding an art & quality, not iustly obnoxious to that his bitter imputation : but contrariwise commendable & fit for a Gentleman, being opportunely and modestly vsed."¹

The praise bestowed by Rambures upon the English mastiff, and Orleans's reply,² remind us of a popular Elizabethan sport which the Puritans visited with unsparing, and, in this case, very just censure. In condemning music, acting, and dancing, they ignored the artistic element in human nature, and its ennobling influence; but we can sympathize with their zeal for the repression of the savage instinct that seeks a degrading excitement amidst scenes of blood and cruelty. Lord Macaulay denied that pity for the beast's sufferings had anything to do with their opposition to bear-baiting.³ In this instance, I think the Puritans have hardly received justice at his hands. Certainly, Stubbes was a typical Puritan. The following passage in his *Anatomie of Abuses*⁴ shows that his dislike to bear-baiting was not wholly due to austerity, or Sabbatarianism: "What christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, & seeke his distruction, yet are we not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are." Time and money, he also added, are wasted in this sport. Yet bear-baiting had its defenders. An anonymous writer⁵ (*temp.* Jac. I.) urged that as seeing plays was a meet recreation for the educated, so was bear-baiting fit for the vulgar. The latter knew not well how to use the liberty which it was right that they should enjoy on holidays:

¹ *The Third Vniuersitie of England*, ch. xlv., printed in Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1631.

² Act III. sc. vii. ll. 150—155.

³ "The Puritan hated bearbaiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Indeed, he generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear."—*History of England*, vol. I. ch. ii. p. 268, ed. 1858. One of the two quotations cited in support of this is not entitled to much weight, being written by a royalist satirist, with waggish intent.

⁴ P. 178. Bear-baiting was a Sunday amusement. See *Stubbes*, p. 179, and *Crowley's Select Works*, ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 17 (E. E. T. S.).

⁵ Quoted in a paper on the London theatres, signed Eu. Hood [Joseph Haslewood]. See the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxvi. Pt. I. p. 205. In 1802, the Rt. Hon. William Windham, M.P., opposed a bill for the abolition of bull-baiting on the ground that it was unfair to legislate against this amusement of the poor, and pass over field sports, the amusement of the rich. He said: "This was an attempt to reform the manners of the people by those who had tried to reform the Constitution. To accomplish this end, two parties were combined; the Methodists and the Jacobins; both sprung from the same ancestry: for, the Puritan of old and the modern Jacobin were equally determined in their hostility to what, in cant language, they called lewd sports and aristocratic pastimes." Sheridan supported the bill in a humorous speech, but the House decided, by a majority of 13, on upholding bull-baiting and the British Constitution.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxii. Pt. II. p. 953, 954.

therefore let them have this pastime to keep them in good humour. It was better that these unruly persons should be drawn to one spot, where their doings could be no secret, and they could easily be found if wanted.

The chief place of resort for the amateurs of bear-baiting was the Bear House in Paris Garden, Southwark. Hither flocked bullies, sharpers, drunkards, loose women, "boystrous Butchers, cutting Cobblers, hard-handed Masons and the like rioting companions," &c. Lupton said that "idle, base persons (most commonly) that want imployment, or else will not be otherwise employ'd, frequent this place [Paris Garden]; . . . here come few that either regard their credit, or losse of time :"¹ &c. Among this motley rout sellers of apples, pears, and nuts went to and fro, and pickpockets plied their trade. The place reeked with tobacco-smoke and foul smells.² The taste for this barbarous amusement was not, however, confined to people of the sort just described. Bear-baiting was exhibited at court. Laneham has left us a most sprightly-written account of a match witnessed by him during the queen's sojourn at Kenilworth in 1575.³ Stubbes censured gentlemen who kept mastiffs for baiting beasts, and made bets of 20, 40, or 100 pounds upon the issue of each combat.⁴ Sir John Davies satirized a law-student for going down into the arena at the Bear House in Paris Garden, and egging on the dogs.⁵ On August 14, 1666, Pepys went there and recorded that "one very fine went into the pit, and played his dog for a wager, which was a strange sport for a gentleman;" &c. Although "the bull's tossing of the dogs" was "good sport," yet he decided that "it is a very rude and nasty pleasure."⁶ About four years later, Evelyn was at the same place, where he saw cock-fighting, dog-fighting, bear-baiting, and bull-baiting. He was "most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime," which he had not seen for twenty years.⁷ Rambures's praise of the English mastiffs was well deserved. They were huge, grim-faced, deep-voiced dogs, of undaunted courage, enured to battle by frequent conflicts with savage beasts, or with men armed with pikestaff, club, or sword. Three mastiffs were accounted a

¹ The quotation beginning "boystrous Butchers," &c., is from *The Actors Remonstrance*, &c., 1643, printed in *The English Drama and Stage* (Roxburghe Lib.), p. 261. For the rest see Lupton (title quoted above), p. 67.

² *Hensleri Itinerarium*, p. 197. *Actors Remonstrance*, p. 261. The spectators viewed the combats from scaffoldings and galleries. — *Stubbes*, p. 179. In Crowley's time (*temp.* Ed. VI.), twopence, a penny, or a half-penny was charged for admission. — *Crowley's Select Works*, ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 17 (E. K. T. S.).

³ *Laneham's Letter*, ed. 1821, pp. 23-25. See also Rathgell's description of a bull-baiting at which the duke of Wirtemberg was present, in *Ryn's England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 46.

⁴ *Stubbes*, p. 178.

⁵ Epigram 43.

⁶ *Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, 1848, iii. 235.

⁷ *Memoirs*, ed. Bray, 1827, ii. 322.

match for a bear; four for a lion.¹ The bears were imported from Russia.² The names of some who became public favourites have been handed down to us.³ When fighting they were fastened behind, but were otherwise at liberty.⁴

The stupid valour of those English mastiffs, at whom Orleans mocks, is, the Constable tells him, a mere animal ferocity which must be kept up to fighting point by "great meals of beef."⁵ We might have consoled ourselves by ascribing this derogatory judgment to national prejudice, but unhappily an Englishman, more candid than discreet, has borne his testimony to the existence of this fatal defect in our countrymen's character. These were the warning words addressed to Edward VI., by the Rev. William Forrest, in the year 1548:

"Where they weare valiaunt / stronge / sturdy / & stowte,
to shoote / to wrastle / to dooe anye mannys feate,
to matche all natyons / dwellinge heere abowte,
as hitherto (manlye) they holde the chief seate :
if they bee pinched / and weyned from meate,

¹ J. Caius *De Canibus Britannicis*, recogn. S. Jebb, pp. 18, 19.

² Act III. sc. vii. l. 154. Butler sang of his bear:

"He was by birth, some authors write,
A Russian, some a Muscovite;" &c.

Hudibras, Pt. I. canto ii. ll. 265, 266.

³ In a petition to James I., Henslowe and Alleyn refer to their loss of "a goodly beare of the name of George Stone." Another of Alleyn's bears was known as "Little Besse of Bromley."—Lyson's *Enviours of London*, vol. i. Pt. I. p. 70, ed. 1811. Harry Hunkes and Sacarson—Slender's Sacarson—are mentioned by Sir John Davies in his epigram "In Publium," 43.

⁴ *Hensler*, p. 196. The following bill, found among the Alleyn papers, shows what a liberal variety of amusements was provided by the bearwards for their patrons: "To-morrow being Thursdaie, shal be seen at the bear-garden on the Bankside, a greate match plaid by the gamesters of Essex, who hath challenged all comers whatsoever, to plaie 5 dogges at the single beare, for 5 pounds; and also to wearie a bull dead at the stake; and for their better content, shall have pleasant sport with the horse and ape, and whipping of the blind bear."

"Vivat Rex."

Lyson's *Enviours*, &c., vol. i. Pt. I. p. 68. The pleasantry specified above as "whipping of the blind bear" is described by *Hensler*, p. 197, quoted p. 216.

⁵ We learn from Fynes Moryson that "hennes," rabbits, venier ~~white~~ meats, were much eaten in England. Brawn was a peculiarly English ~~meat~~. He does not mention beef.—*Itinerary*, Pt. III. p. 149. To the other evidence on this important subject, (see Intro. p. xxix. and note 5), I here add Defoe's:

"The Climate makes them Terrible and Bold;
And English Beef their Courage does uphold;
No Danger can their Daring Spirit pall,
Always provided that their Belly's full."

The True Born *Englishman*, Part II. ll. 11—14, ed. 1703.

Wisse, O Kynge / they, in penurye thus pende,
shall not bee able / thye Royalme to defende.

Owre Englishe nature / cannot lyve by Rooatis,
by water / herbys / or suche beggerye baggage :
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis :
gecue Englishe men meate / after their old vsage,
Beef, Mutton, Veale, to cheere their courage,
and then I dare / to this byll sett my hande :
they shall defende this owre noble Englande."

Sir (=Rev.) Wm. Forrest's *Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise*, MS. Reg. 17 D iii., lf. 61, back. Since printed in Herrtage's Part I. of *England in the Reign of Hen. VIII.*, E. E. T. Soc. 1878, p. xciv*.

Shakspeare, by the mouth of Gower,¹ has exposed the paltry arts of a swaggerer, or military bully; a social pest common enough in the days of the great war with Spain. Some thirty years before, Ascham had seen such a blustering Thraso among the courtiers; and had noted his brave looks, to which "a slouinglie busking, or an ouerstaring frounced hed," gave effect.² His ordinary discourse bristled with technical military terms, and affectedly blasphemous oaths like "Renounce me," "Refuse me."³ If, when he was present, the talk took a warlike turn, he at once seized the opportunity for descanting upon his exploits past and future. The foes who had fallen by his hand, the campaigns he had been engaged in, the honours he had won; his schemes for the reconquest of France, and for driving the Spaniard from the Indies and the Turk from Constantinople,—such were the subjects upon which his lofty imagination expatiated.⁴ He would often mention, with an easy air, the name of some distinguished general under whom he had served.⁵ If anyone angered him, his menaces were terrible: "He threatens stabs and death, with hart, wounds and blood; yet a bloody nose hath made him call for a Chirurgion."⁶ Perhaps our swaggerer lacked the means for maintaining the life of gentlemanlike indolence which befitted his dignity. In that case a little light labour with a picklock, or some false dice, might serve to redress the balance of envious Fortune.⁷ Or he would meet you on the highway, and, with tremendous oaths, demand your purse.⁸ There

¹ Act III. sc. vi. ll. 70—83.

² *Scholemaster*, 1570, Arber's ed. p. 54. Written between 1563-8.

³ Sir John Davies's epigram "In Gallum," 24. See also Fitzgibbon's *Notes from Blackfriars*, quoted in a note on this epigram in Dr. Grosart's ed. of Davies's works, vol. ii. p. 23, (Early English Poets). And compare Taylor's *Dugge of Warre* in the Spenser Society's ed. of his works, p. 367.

⁴ *Times Whistle*, 1614—1616, ed. J. M. Cowper, pp. 24, 25 (R. E. T. S.).

⁵ Decker's *Gull's Hornbook*, 1609, chap. v. pp. 26, 27, ed. 1862.

⁶ Rowlands's *Diogenes Laethorne*, 1607, sign. B 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Rowlands's *Looke to it; for Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604, sign. D 2.

were some striking vicissitudes in his lot, but he bore them philosophically. Samuel Rowlands, a close observer of his character, remarked: "He scornes to dwell in a suite of apparell a weeke: this day in sattin, to-morrow in sackcloth: one day all new, the next day all seamrent: now on his backe, anon at the brokers: and this, by his reckning, is a gentlemen's humour."¹ Such were the humours of a swaggerer: his outward semblance Rowlands has described in the following lines:

The Picture of a Swagerer.

"A Bedlam looke, shag haire, and staring eyes,
Horse coursers tongue, for oths and damned lyes,
A Pickt-hatch paire of pockey lympling legs,
And goes like one that fees in shackels begs.
A Nose that smoketh with Tabacco still,
Stincking as lothsome as doth Hecla Hill
His fist with hangmans fire-worke closely fill'd,
His itching backe, with Bridewell medicine kill'd.
His rapier pawn'd,—that borrowed, which he weares,—
And dares not see a Sergeant for his eares,
His richest ware-house is a greasie pocket,
And two-pence in Tabacco still doth stocke it;
His bootes² that keepe his legs from nakednes,
(Houlding a paire of stockings but excesse)
Came to him from a friend that late did dye,
Being indeede a Tyburne legacy,
For there they cap'red to their owners paine,
And there he meanes to bring them backe againe.
Which shoves some conscience in the cursed crew,
That will not cheate the hangman of his due."³

1613 (?). Saml. Rowlands. *More Knaues yet? The Knaues of Spades and Diamonds*. Sign. E 2, back.

¹ Rowlands's *Diogenes*; *Lanthorne*, sign. B 2.

² "You that weare Bootes, and Ginglers at your heeles,
Yet when you ride, your coach hath but two wheelles."

Rowlands's *Looke to it: for Ile Stabbe ye*, sign. D 2.

³ This portrait requires two more touches. Taylor said of these gentry:

"Some like *Dominicall* Letters
goe,
In scarlet from the top
to toe," &c.

Taylor's *Dogge of Warre*, Spenser Soc. ed. of his *Works*, p. 367. They also affected a sharp-pointed beard, called, from its shape, the stiletto beard. See Malone's note on "a beard of the general's cut" in the *Variorum Sh.*, vol. xvii. p. 366, ed. 1821.

XI. STAGE-HISTORY OF *Henry V.* Shakspeare's *Henry V.* was preceded by two or three plays dealing with the same subject. From one of these, namely, *The Famous Victories of Henry the fifth*, Shakspeare took some hints.¹ It was licensed in 1594. Two years before that date Nash² noticed a play on Henry V. which had, we find, a scene in it resembling one in the *Famous Victories*. Another play is known to us by name only. In Henslowe's accounts it appears as "harey the fift life and death," acted by the Lord Admiral's players on the 26th of May, 1597.³ From the reference made by the Chorus to the earl of Essex's campaign in Ireland, we may fairly assume that the Shaksperian *Henry V.* was acted before September, 1599. We have no theatrical notices of *Henry V.* for more than a century after this date. Lord Orrery's *Henry V.*, presented at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1664, was an entirely different play,⁴ but some fragments of the Shaksperian drama were worked into Aaron Hill's *Henry the 5th; or the Conquest of France by the English*, acted at Drury Lane in 1723. Hill omitted all the comic scenes, except that in which the French nobles boast of to-morrow's triumph. To supply the place of these omissions, he enlarged the Dauphin's and the princess Katherine's parts; and added a new character, named Harriet, who is a niece of Lord Scroop, and a cast-off mistress of the king, whom she follows to France, disguised in boy's clothes. Henry is supposed to have visited France before the time at which the play opens, and, under the assumed name of Owen Tudor, to have won the princess's love.⁵ *Henry V.* was acted at Goodman's Fields on November 26, 1735, but whether this was Shakspeare's or Hill's play has not been ascertained, for the characters are not recorded. Geneste believed it to be Shakspeare's *Henry V.*, because Giffard, who was then manager of that theatre, had very good judgment in the revival of plays.⁶ About this time a renewed interest in Shakspeare had arisen, due, perhaps, to the publication, since the beginning of the 18th century, of five critical editions of his plays. Some ladies of rank and distinction formed a Shakespear Club, in order to raise by subscription the necessary funds for placing his plays on the stage.⁷ *King John* and *Richard II.*, freed from the perversions of

¹ See above, pp. x; xviii, note 6; xxviii, note 8; xxix, note 5; li, lii, liii.

² "What a glorious thing it is to have Henry the Fifth represented on the stage, lending the French king prisoner, and forcing both him and the Dolphin swear fealty."—*Pierce Penniless*, 1594, ed. Collier (*Old Sh. Soc.*), p. 60. Compare the last scene of the *Famous Victories*, in Hazlitt's *Sh. Lib.*, Pt. II. vol. i. p. 371.

³ *Variarum Shakspeare*, iii. 307. A play, believed by Malone to be the *Famous Victories*, was performed on the 26th of November, 1595. —*Idem*, p. 305.

⁴ See Geneste's *Account of the English Stage*, i. 53.

⁵ Hill's play is analysed in Geneste, iii. 129-131.

⁶ It was acted seven nights successively. —*Geneste*, iii. 492. On Feb. 5, 1736, "Hen. V. & *Lover's Opera*" were played at Goodman's-Fields. — *Gentleman's Magazine*, vi. 98. On April 13, "K. Hen. & *Lane his own Rival*." —*Id.* p. 234.

⁷ Whincop gives this account of the club. "Besides the Honour done to *Shake-*

Cibber and Tate, were revived at Covent Garden; and on Feb. 23, 1738, the genuine *Henry V.*, which, according to the bills, had not been acted for forty years, was also presented there.¹ In December, 1747, when it was acted for the first time at Drury Lane, the cast included Barry as the King, Macklin as Fluellen, and Yates as Pistol. Garrick spoke the Choruses.² On Nov. 13, 1761, when the remembrance of the coronation of George III. and Queen Charlotte was still fresh in the public mind, Rich, the manager of Covent Garden, produced a representation of Henry the Fifth's coronation procession from the Abbey. Mrs. Bellamy played Katherine, and afterwards walked in the procession as the newly-crowned queen.³ The pageant was most favourably received by the spectators, and was repeated twenty-three times consecutively. Besides the coronation procession, a champion mounted on a real horse formed part of the closing spectacle on the 22nd of September, 1769.⁴ In 1789, Kemble's revised version of *Henry V.* was performed at Drury Lane. A contemporary review noticed it in these rather cool terms. "OCTOBER 1. King Henry V. was revived at Drury Lane, and in a manner very creditable to both the Manager and the Theatre. The part of King Henry was performed by Mr. Kemble, who sustained the dignity and importance of the English Hero in a manner which deserved and obtained the approbation of the audience. Fluellen was not disgraced by Mr. Baddeley, and the other performers did at least justice to their parts."⁵

Shakspeare's Memory by the Monument [in Westminster Abbey] erected to it as afore mentioned, a still greater was done it, about the same Time, by the Ladies of *Great Britain*, when some of the first Quality, eminent likewise for their Beauty, Virtue, and just Taste, of which this is a Proof, entered into a Society, and distinguish'd themselves by the Name of the SHAKESPEARE CLUB, in order to support his Plays on the Stage, while the greatest Part of the Town were encouraging ridiculous *Pantomimes* and *French Dancers*."—*List of all the English Dramatic Poets, 1747*, p. 146. "They bespoke, every week, some favourite play of this great writer;" &c.—*Davies's Life of Garrick*, vol. i. p. 20, ed. 1808. There seems to have been an opposition Fletcher Club. In Fielding's *Historical Register*, ad fin., Medley says: "and you, ladies, whether you be Shakspeare's Ladies, or Beaumont and Fletcher's Ladies, I hope you will make allowances for a rehearsal," &c.

* Acted four times successively, and three times afterwards. The cast is given in *Geneste*, iii. 555.

¹ *Geneste*, iv. 235.

² *Id.* iv. 647.

³ *Id.* v. 276.

⁴ *European Magazine*, xvi. 299. *The Prompter* praised Kemble and Miss Collins, —the latter played Queen Isabel,—but disapproved of Baddeley's Fluellen.—*Geneste*, vi. 579. Boaden did not think that even Kemble's Coriolanus 'exceeded his "royal Hal." As a *coup de Theatre*, his starting up from prayer at the sound of the trumpet, in the passage where he states his attempted atonement to Richard the Second, formed one of the most spirited excitements that the stage has ever displayed.'—*Memoirs of J. P. Kemble*, vol. ii. p. 8. Of Kemble's revision of *Henry V.* (ed. 1789) I here subjoin a specimen. Line-numbers from the Cambridge Sh.:

No Chorus to Act. I.

OMIT I. i. 11 'being valued thus' to 20, 'cup and all;' 24 'The courses,' to 68 'perfected;' 72, 'He seems indifferent,' and 96, 7.

Henry V. was revived at Covent Garden in 1803 and 1811. Kemble again appeared as the King. On its revival at the same theatre in 1819, and 1839, Macready acted the King.¹ In 1859, Mr. Charles Kean revived *Henry V.*, with elaborate scenic effects, at the Princess's Theatre; and the play has recently (1879) been produced at Drury Lane by Mr. George Rignold.²

Of the actors who appeared in *Henry V.*, we have no authentic record earlier in date than 1738, when the play was revived at Covent Garden. On this occasion Delane, a handsome and popular young actor, personated the King.³ King Henry was one of Barry's chief characters,⁴ and Smith, a refined and graceful actor, was also successful in this part.⁵ Elliston, we are told by his biographer, rivalled Kemble in his conception of Hotspur and Henry V., displaying in them romantic gallantry of tone

I. ii. 24-28, 30-2, 34, $\frac{1}{2}$ 35, 38, 46-55, 61- $\frac{1}{2}$ 63, 66-88 ('Did hold,' 89), 93-5. Besides,

l. 100-110 'Gracious lord' are given to *Exeter*.

l. 111-114 are given to *Gloster*.

l. 115-121 are given to *Westmoreland*.

l. 125-131 are given to *Exeter*.

OMIT $\frac{1}{2}$ l. 138, to 'to us' 145; 150-2.

" 166 to $\frac{1}{2}$ 213 'Therefore to France.'

" $\frac{1}{2}$ 225 to 'epitaph' 232.

" 264-5.

264 'And tell him that we understand.'

OMIT 270-2, 276-7, 281-287, 309-310.—[F. J. F.]

¹ Oct. 25, 1803.—*Geneste*, vii. 612. March 4, 1811.—*Id.* viii. 232. Oct. 4, 1819.—*Id.* ix. 41. June 20, 1839.—"King Henry the Fifth," in *All the Year Round*, N. S., vol. xxiii. p. 514.

² *Geneste* did not index all the performances of *Henry V.* recorded in his work. The following list is compiled from *Geneste*. COVENT GARDEN: Feb. 23, March 6, Dec. 5, 22, 1738; Jan. 11, 1739; March 11, 1740; April 19, 1744; Nov. 18, Dec. 11, 1745; Jan. 16, Feb. 19, 24, Nov. 29, 30, 1750; April 17, ? May 8, 1754 (*bill penes me*); Feb. 18, Dec. 9, 1755; Nov. 5, 1757; April 13, 1758; Feb. 1, April 25, Dec. 28, 1759; Nov. 18, 1760; Nov. 13, 1761; April 12, Oct. 16, 1762; Feb. 15, 1764; Sept. 22, 1766; Sept. 22, 1767; Sept. 22, 1769; Oct. 25, 1770; May 11, Sept. 21, 1778. Jan. 1, Sept. 20, 1779; May 20, 1782; Oct. 25, 1803; March 4, 1811; Nov. 1, 1813; Oct. 4, 1819. DRURY LANE: Dec. 16-18, 31, 1747; Oct. 13, 1748; Oct. 1, 5, 12, 19, 26, Nov. 2, 9, 16, 23, Dec. 7, 28, 1789 (most of these dates from *Genst. Mag.* 1789); Oct. 7, 1790; Oct. 17, 1791 (D. L. Company at Haymarket); Sept. 23, 1794; Dec. 14, 1801; June 2, 1825; March 8, 1830. HAYMARKET: Sept. 5, 1803. BATH: April 17, 1777; July 29, 1793 (£104 taken); June 7, 1798; March 10, 1801. LIVERPOOL: July 26, 1773. DUBLIN: Feb. 28, 1755 (£36. 18. 10, Irish money, taken). The dates of the following performances of *Henry V.* are taken from the paper in *All the Year Round*, referred to at p. xcviil, note 1. SADDLER'S WELLS: 1852. QUEEN'S THEATRE: 1876. WINDSOR CASTLE: (Sadler's Wells Company and some members of Mr. C. Kean's troop) Nov. 10, 1853. MANCHESTER: 1872. NEW YORK: 1875.

³ *Geneste*, iii. 555, and iv. 307, 308.

⁴ *Id.* v. 570. First appearance as King Henry V., Dec. 16, 1747.—*Id.* iv. 235.

⁵ *Id.* vi. 483. First appearance as King Henry V., Feb. 18, 1755.

and action combined with dignity.¹ Hippisley, who as a rule gave free scope to his great comic genius, carefully avoided any buffoonery in his representation of Fluellen.² It is scarcely possible to outdo Pistol, and in this, his best part, Theophilus Cibber excited great mirth by "a ridiculous importance of deportment, with turgid action, long immeasurable strides, extravagant grimaces, and the sonorous cant of the old Tragedizers."³ Mrs. Macklin played the Hostess, and was unequalled in the description of Falstaff's death.⁴ Afterwards Mrs. Pitt gained distinction in this part.⁵ Garrick often delivered the Choruses. They were, on one occasion, undertaken by Henderson, who recited them with much correctness and energy.⁶

The gorgeous apparel worn by the Elizabethan actors compensated in some degree for the total absence of stage illusions to which I have adverted above. In an inventory of the theatrical costumes belonging to the Lord Admiral's men, we find, under date the 10th of March, 1598: "Item, Harey the fyftes dublet. Item, Harey the fyftes vellet gowne." And again, under March 13, 1598: "Item, Harye the V. sattin dublet, layd with gowld lace."⁷ Custom required that Pistol should wear a hat of preposterous size. Nokes, an actor at Lincoln's Inn Fields, caused much laughter by presenting himself in a hat larger than Pistol's.⁸ More than a century later, the facetious Francis Grose, in his advice to young officers, thus refers to this stage tradition:

¹ Elliston Papers, ed. G. Raymond, in *Ainsworth's Magazine*, iv. 30. First appearance as King Henry V., Sept. 5, 1803.

² *Geneste*, iv. 253. First appearance as Fluellen, Feb. 23, 1738.

³ *Id.* 533. First appearance as Pistol in *Henry V.*, March 11, 1740.

⁴ *Id.* 555. Geneste refers to the *Dramatic Censor*. "1747, 1748. Probably Hostess in *Henry 5th.*"—*Geneste*, iv. 556.

⁵ *Id.* vii. 76. First appearance as Hostess in *Henry V.* (?) May 8, 1754 (bill *penes me*).

⁶ On Jan. 1, 1779.—*Geneste*, vi. 91. G. refers to Ireland's *Memoirs of Henderson*. Besides those mentioned in the text, the following celebrated actors and actresses are recorded by Geneste—in his lists of their impersonations—as having played parts in *Henry V.*

King Henry = Wroughton, 1778; = Conway, 1813. *Archbishop of Canterbury* = Chapman, 1738; = Delane, 1747; = Hull, 1778. *Fluellen* = Yates, 1748; = Shuter, 1754; = Edwin, 1777. *Pistol* = Woodward, 1744; = Yates, 1747; = Quick, 1778; = Suett, 1789; = Thomas Knight, 1793. *Nym* = Edward Knight, 1825. *The Boy* = Miss Hallam (Mrs. Mattocks), 1758. *Dauphin* = Woodward, 1745; = Havard, 1747. *Queen of France* = Mrs. Horton, 1750. *Hostess* = Mrs. Davenport, 1803. *Chorus* = Ryan, 1750, 1754; = Powell, 1767; = Dimond, 1777; = Hull, 1779. In Bell's *Shakspeare*, vol. xii., there is a character plate (dated 1785) of Mrs. Siddons as the princess Katherine.

⁷ *Variorum Shakspeare*, iii. 309, 316.

⁸ *Gent. Mag.* xxii. 200. In order to outdo this drollery at the rival house, Nell Gwyn, by Dryden's direction, wore a hat "the circumference of a hinder coach wheel," while speaking the prologue to his *Aurengzebe*, at the Theatre Royal.—*Ibid.*

"Ever since the days of Antient Pistol, we find that a large and broad-rimmed beaver has been peculiar to heroes. A hat of this kind worn over your right eye, with two large dangling tassels, and a proportionate cockade and feather, will give you an air of courage and martial gallantry."¹

XII. TIME-ANALYSIS OF *Henry V.* Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii. London. In Act I. the unity of time has been respected.

First interval—about fifteen months²—during which England prepares for war.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. Near the Boar's Head, Eastcheap. Morning. Nym bids Bardolph "*Good-morrow*." We may, I think, fairly assume that Bardolph's promise of a breakfast (l. 12) is to be fulfilled at once. Breakfast—an unusual meal in the Elizabethan age³—would not be later than 8 a.m. The Boy enters and tells Pistol and the Hostess that Falstaff is very sick. The Hostess hurries out, and soon returning, entreats Pistol and the others to "*come in* quickly to Sir John." From the words "*come in*," I infer that this scene is laid near the Boar's Head, Sir John's old haunt. Pope ended Act I. with this scene.⁴

Second interval. About twenty-four hours. Falstaff died "*between twelve and one*." It is unnecessary, I think, to suppose that a longer interval elapses between sc. i. and ii.⁵

Day 3. Act II. sc. ii. Southampton. Morning. The *Chronicles* merely state that the nobles' plot was revealed to Henry "*the night before the date appointed*"⁶ for the embarkation of his army. When sc. ii. ends, the spectator is instantly transported to London.

Act II. sc. iii. London. Morning. Nym warns his companions—who have been listening to the Hostess's account of Falstaff's last

¹ *Advice to the Officers of the British and Irish Armies*, 1789, p. 79. Written on the same plan as Swift's *Directions to Servants*. The valiant captain, whom Roderick Random met with on his journey to London, had a hat "very much of the size and cock of Pistol's."—*Roderick Random*, vol. I. ch. xi.

² The parliament of Leicester—dramatized in Act I. sc. ii.—assembled on "the last date of April," 1414.—*Ch.* 545/2/7. Henry invaded France in August, 1415.

³ *Harrison* (New Sh. Soc. ed.), Pt. I. p. 162.

⁴ I subjoin his note: "*Between this and the foregoing Scene* (Act I. sc. ii.), in all the editions hitherto is inserted the Chorus which I have postponed. That Chorus manifestly is intended to advertise the Spectators of the Change of the Scene to Southampton, and therefore ought to be plac'd just before that Change, and not here, where the Scene is still continued in London."—Pope's *Shakspeare*, ed. 2, iv, 389.

⁵ Mr. Daniel thinks that an interval of at least a week should be allowed for Falstaff's "sickness, death, and burial."—*Time Analysis of Henry V.* But a few hours' serious illness might be enough to carry off Sir John, worn out by age, dissipation, and heart-grief. I do not think that his followers—Bardolph, perhaps, excepted—could enough for him to stay for his funeral. It is unlikely that he left any legation, or house cash to be searched for and "conveyed."

⁶ *Ch.* 548/1/90.

moments—that it is time to set out for Southampton. In sc. ii. Henry says, "We will aboard to-night." Fynes Moryson, a contemporary of Shakspeare, states that in the southern and western parts of England post-horses could be obtained at every ten miles, and that a traveller able to bear the fatigue could ride at the rate of about ten miles an hour.¹ The distance by road from London to Southampton is 75 miles. Nym and his comrades could reach Southampton in time for the embarkation.

Third interval. Henry sails for France,² lands near Harfleur, and sends an ultimatum, by Exeter, to Charles VI. When announcing Henry's arrival (II. iv. 141—143), Exeter speaks as though the king were near at hand, and we may therefore, perhaps, infer that the French court was then at Rouen.

Day 4. Act II. sc. iv. ? Rouen. The first French council of war. Exeter delivers Henry's ultimatum.

Fourth interval. About a month.³ Siege of Harfleur. The town is on the point of capitulating when Act III. opens.

Day 5. Act III. sc. i, ii., and iii. Harfleur. In sc. i. we witness the last of the many assaults upon Harfleur. There are no intervals between sc. i, ii., and iii. While Henry's captains are conversing in sc. ii., the town sounds a parley. Thereupon (sc. iii.) Henry enters and demands an immediate (l. 33) surrender. The governor of Harfleur, despairing of help, opens his gates, and the English march in.⁴

Fifth interval. Allow time for the march towards Calais, begun on the day after (III. iii. 57, 58) the surrender of Harfleur.⁵

[Act III. sc. iv. The French King's palace. I agree with Mr. Daniel in supposing that this scene should be referred to the interval following Day 4. After the negotiations for a marriage between Henry and Katherine had been broken off (Chorus III. 28—31), it was no longer necessary that the princess should learn English. Yet here she has her first lesson in it.⁶]

¹ "In *England* towards the South, and in the West parts, and from *London* to *Berwick*, vpon the confines of *Scotland*, Post-horses are established at euery ten miles or thereabouts, which they ride a false gallop after some ten miles an hower sometimes," &c.—*Itinerary*, Pt. III. p. 61.

² In 1595, Fynes Moryson sailed from Dieppe to Dover in 14 hours.—*Itinerary*, Pt. I. p. 197. An average passage, perhaps. N.B. The ship was drawn out of the Haven of Dieppe by a boat, p. 196.

³ Harfleur was surrendered "on the daie of saint Maurice (Sept. 22), being the seuen and thirtieth daie after the siege was first laid.—*Ch.* 550/2/1."

⁴ The historical dates are given above, pp. xxi, xxii.

⁵ The historical dates are given above, p. xxiii, note 1.

⁶ Dr. Nicholson has suggested to me that Charles VI.—pictured, he thinks, by Shakspeare, as a timid, irresolute man—would be likely to keep the marriage in prospect as still possible. Granting this, it is strange that Katherine did not begin learning

Day 6. Act III. sc. v. Rouen. See ll. 54, 64. The second French council of war. News of the passage of the Somme has been received at Rouen.

Sixth interval. A day or two. March to Calais continued.

Day 7. Act III. sc. vi. The Ternoise, Pas de Calais. October 24.¹ It was drawing toward night (vi. 179—181) when the army moved forward in order to encamp on the farther side of the river.

Seventh interval. The English resume their march and encamp. The French also encamp.

Act III. sc. vii. to l. 97. The French camp near Agincourt. Wit-combat between the Dauphin and the Constable. At "midnight" (l. 97) the Dauphin goes out to arm himself.

Day 8. Act III. sc. vii. from l. 97 to l. 134, inclusive. Same place. Just after midnight. Orleans takes up his cousin's cudgels.

Eighth interval. Nearly two hours clapse from the Dauphin's exit at midnight (l. 97) to the end of the scene, when Orleans says that it is two o'clock. Orleans's last quip (l. 134) seems either to have silenced the Constable, or obliged him to find some other subject for raillery, not set down by Shakspeare. The action is supposed to be resumed when the messenger enters.

Act III. sc. vii. l. 135 to end. Same place. Two a.m. The French nobles scoff at the English.

Ninth interval. About four hours. The clocks strike three (Chorus IV. 15). We may suppose that the incidents represented in Act IV. sc. i. follow each other in unbroken sequence; the scene being thus limited by the time necessary for its performance. If so, sc. i. opens shortly before daybreak. See ll. 87, 88. Or intervals may be imagined between these incidents, in order that the hours from 3 a.m. to about 6.30 a.m. may be accounted for.

Act IV. sc. i. The English camp near Agincourt. Early morning.

Tenth interval. The Constable's words (sc. ii., last line) show that the morning was far advanced when this scene ends. Compare also Orleans's exclamation at the opening of sc. ii. According to the *Chronicles*, the French awaited the signal for battle "till the houre betweene nine and ten of the clocke."²

Act IV. sc. ii. The French camp. Morning. The battle is imminent when the Constable rushes out.

Act IV. sc. iii. The field of battle. Morning. The English were, I presume, drawn up outside their camp before this scene opens. See ll. 14. While Henry animates his men, the Constable hastily

English before. Since the close of Act II, there has been a return embassy to Henry V., and Harfleur has been besieged and taken.

¹ The battle was fought on the "day of Crispin Crispianus" (Oct. 25). See IV. vii. 94.

² *CA.* 553¹/35.

marshals the French, and during the remainder of the scene—from l. 68 to end—the two armies face each other on the field of battle. A brief delay is caused by Montjoy's mission. York receives the command of the vaward, and Henry thereupon advances against the French. See last lines.

Eleventh interval. About six hours. The last phases of the battle are represented in sc. iv., v., vi., and vii. (1—68). The *Chronicles* record that by about 4 p.m. the residue of the French army had quitted the field.

Act IV. sc. iv., v., vi., and vii. Same place. Afternoon. For a comparison of these scenes with the *Chronicles*, with especial reference to the connection of sc. v., vi., and vii., I beg to refer the reader to pp. xl—xlii of this Introduction.

Twelfth interval. An hour or two. The heralds went out at vii. 123, but they could hardly have numbered the prisoners and the slain in less time. In the mean while, Williams and Fluellen are searching for Gower, whom the king wishes to see. See ll. 158, and 175, 176.

Act IV. sc. viii. Before King Henry's pavilion. In the last scene Fluellen was told to bring Gower to the royal tent. During the last interval, Williams has found Gower and delivered the king's summons. He now (viii. 1) enters, congratulating his captain. They are nearing the pavilion when Fluellen—who has hitherto sought in vain for Gower—meets them. Warwick—who has kept Fluellen in sight during the interval—then enters, and is followed by Henry and Exeter, who have been in another part of the field (vii. 190, 191), and are now returning to the pavilion.

Thirteenth interval. Rather more than four months. The only facts which can be relied on are: That France was the scene (V. i. 92), and March 2 the day (V. i. 2 and 9—13. March 1 is St. David's day) of Pistol's castigation. Mr. Daniel brackets sc. i. in Act V., supposing it to have taken place a few days after the battle. But he suggests that Pistol, with Fluellen and Gower, might have remained in garrison at Calais till the following year. I accept this explanation, although it is very possible that Sha'spere didn't care to adjust his St. David's day to the almanack.

Day 9. Act V. sc. i. France. Fluellen tells Pistol "a little piece of my desires."

Fourteenth interval. Nearly four years and two months. Henry returns to France and carries on the war. Peace negotiations are at last set on foot, and in the next scene we witness their successful issue.

Day 10. Act V. sc. ii. Troyes in Champagne. May 20, 1420. Henry and Katherine are affianced.

This play embraces a period of about six years, from the opening of the parliament at Leicester, April 30, 1414, to Henry's betrothal to Katherine, May 20, 1420. I arrange the action and intervals thus:

Summary of Time-Analysis.

1st CHORUS. Prologue.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i., and ii.

2nd CHORUS. *Interval.*

Day 2. Act II. sc. i.

Interval.

„ 3. Act II. sc. ii., and iii.

Interval.

„ 4. Act II. sc. iv.

3rd CHORUS. *Interval.*

Day 5. Act III. sc. i. to iii.

Interval.

[Act III. sc. iv. Interval following Day 4.]

„ 6. Act III. sc. v.

Interval.

„ 7. Act III. sc. vi.

Interval.

„ „ Act III. sc. vii. to l. 97.

„ 8. Act III. sc. vii. l. 97 to l. 134.

Interval.

„ „ Act III. sc. vii. l. 135 to end.

4th CHORUS. *Interval.*

Day 8. Act IV. sc. i.

Interval.

„ „ Act IV. sc. ii., and iii.

Interval.

„ „ Act IV. sc. iv., v., vi., and vii.

Interval.

„ „ Act IV. sc. viii.

5th CHORUS. *Interval.*

Day 9. Act V. sc. i.

Interval.

Day 10. Act V. sc. ii.

6th CHORUS. Epilogue

Having now considered the particular aspects whence this play may be regarded, a few points in it, of a less special nature, may be briefly touched upon. In dealing with Henry the Fifth's reign, Shakspeare's

power as a dramatist had little scope for display, because, as I have already observed, the epic element predominates in that part of our history. In the reigns of John, Richard II., Henry VI., and Richard III., there is good store of matter both for plot and tragedy. The reign of Henry IV. is a chronicle of political intrigue blended with tragedy of a less sombre cast. But in the annals of Henry V. little else is recorded save wearisomely painful details of battles and sieges. The conspiracy against Henry is the only tragic incident¹ available as a contrast to the somewhat monotonous prosperity of his career. Having, then, to deal with a subject almost void of dramatic interest, Shakspeare concentrated all his power upon the portraiture of the King. A special feature in this play is the chorus before each act, a device which suited his purpose of presenting Henry's character in its fulness to the audience, for—as Gervinus remarks—Shakspeare is thus enabled “to place the hero of his poem in the splendid heroic light in which from his unassuming nature he cannot place himself, and in which, when arrived at the height of his fame, he expressly wishes not to be seen by those around him.”² The other personages are slightly sketched, and appear as satellites or foils to the central figure. Fluellen is a new and original study, but his nature was not many-sided enough to permit him to take a large share in the action.

The comic scenes have no organic connection with the play like the similar scenes in *Henry IV.* In *Henry IV.* Shakspeare had to draw the character of a wild young prince: hence a primary necessity for bringing vividly before us the men who were the prince's companions. The incidental comic scenes in *Henry V.* serve merely to vary the sameness of the historical action, and give more reality to the events by associating them with ordinary human interests and people. Doubtless Shakspeare did well in not redeeming his promise of indulging us with one more glimpse of Falstaff. Unity of conception and truth to nature alike forbade Sir John's reformation. All our laughter must have been swallowed up in pity at the contrast between Falstaff in his dishonoured old age, and the martial figures of the new generation, full of chivalrous enthusiasm and devotion to their country.

We do not find in *Henry V.* the contempt for chronology exhibited in the *First Part of Henry VI.* A dramatist may be allowed the license of sometimes referring distinct events to one time,—if they be not very remote from one another,—in order to avoid cutting up his play into too many scenes, and also for the sake of giving greater dramatic effect to his incidents. Thus, if Exeter's embassy had been dramatized in its

¹ It may be that Shakspeare's sense of an abiding irony in the nature of things—take, as examples, the gravediggers' talk in *Hamlet*, and the porter's soliloquy in *Macbeth*—led him to place the discovery of the nobles' plot between two comic scenes in low life.

² Gervinus's *Shakspeare Commentaries*, p. 339, ed. 1875.

chronological order, Shakspeare must either have brought the duke in again upon much the same errand, or have sacrificed the impressive entry that interrupts the deliberations of Charles VI. and his council.

Henry V. is the centre round which the other English historical plays—*John* excepted—group themselves. Through *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* we watch the chequered dawn of the good fortune that reaches her full meridian splendour in *Henry V.*, and fades away amid the ever-deepening gloom of *Henry VI.* *Richard III.* is a supplementary drama, showing how the Nemesis that followed the House of Lancaster was bequeathed as a fatal legacy to its supplanter. Blood still called for blood, crime still suggested crime.

Henry V. was finished when Shakspeare had nearly passed his thirty-fifth year, the keystone in the arch of human life.¹ In the history of his poetic development the play belongs to a period distinguished from an earlier time by increase of power, and from a later by light-heartedness, only saddened a little towards its close. We do not detect any note of sadness in this play; there is no forewarning of the coming time when he was to learn through bitter experience the darker secrets of the human heart: here all is triumph and joyful anticipation; to the psalm of victory succeeds the solemn benediction upon the marriage that is to heal the wounds of civil war, and unite two long-hostile nations under the sceptre of HENRY V.

¹ *La dove sia il punto sommo di questo arco, per quella disuguglianza [in the height of the arch] che detta è di sopra, è forte da sapere; ma nelli più io credo tra' l' treatesimo e' l' quaresimesimo anno: e io credo che nelli perfettamente maturati esso ne sia nel trentacinquesimo anno.*—So Dante in his *Convito*, tratt. iv. cap. 23. Cf. *Inferno*, l. 1, and the usual comment upon the line.

. All the line-number references, in this Introduction, are taken from the *Globe Shakspeare*. Throughout Section V. of the Introduction, the supplementary matter, not relating to Shakspeare's use of the *Chronicles*, is enclosed by heavy brackets ([]).

THE LIFE OF
HENRY THE FIFT.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

- KING HENRY the Fifth, I. ii. 1; II. ii. 12; III. i. 1; iii. 1; vi. 85; IV. i. 1; iii. 18; vi. 1; vii. 53; viii. 23; V. ii. 1.
- DUKE OF *CLARENCE, I. ii. 1; V. ii.
- DUKE OF BEDFORD, II. ii. 1; IV. iii. 2. ¶ I. ii. 1; III. i. 1; IV. i. 1; V. ii. 1. } brothers to the King.
- DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, III. vi. 162; IV. i. 28; iii. 1; vii. 65. ¶ I. ii. 1; III. i. 1; IV. viii. 1; V. ii.
- DUKE OF EXETER, uncle to the King, I. ii. 2; II. ii. 2; iv. 76; IV. iii. 4; vi. 3; vii. 64; viii. 69; V. ii. 322. ¶ III. i. 1.
- DUKE OF YORK, cousin to the King, IV. iii. 129.
- EARLS OF *HUNTINGDON, V. ii. 1; SALISBURY, IV. iii. 5; WARWICK, IV. viii. 18. ¶ I. ii. 1; IV. vii. 1; V. ii. 1; and WESTMORELAND, I. ii. 3; II. ii. 3; IV. iii. 3; V. ii. 319.
- ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, I. i. 1; ii. 7.
- BISHOP OF ELY, I. i. 6; ii. 115.
- EARL OF CAMBRIDGE, II. ii. 25.
- LORD SCROPE, II. ii. 19. } conspirators against the King.
- SIR THOMAS GREY, II. ii. 29.
- SIR THOMAS ERPINGHAM, IV. i. 16. ¶ IV. iii. 1; CAPTAINS FLEUELLEN, III. ii. 54; vi. 3; IV. i. 65; vii. 1; viii. 2; V. i. 3; GOWER, III. ii. 52; vi. 1; IV. i. 64; vii. 5; viii. 10; V. i. 1; JAMY, III. ii. 78; and MACMORRIS, III. ii. 82, officers in King Henry's army.
- BATES, IV. i. 86; COURT, IV. i. 84; and WILLIAMS, IV. i. 88; vii. 119; viii. 1, soldiers in the same.
- BARDOLPH, II. i. 1; iii. 7; III. ii. 1; NYM, II. i. 2; iii. 25; III. ii. 2; and PISTOL, II. i. 26; iii. 3; III. ii. 5; vi. 19; IV. i. 35; iv. 1; V. i. 18.
- A Boy, servant to BARDOLPH, PISTOL, and NYM, II. i. 75; iii. 29; III. ii. 10; IV. iv. 23.
- An English Herald, IV. viii. 69.
- CHARLES the Sixth, King of France, II. iv. 1; III. v. 1; V. ii. 9.
- LEWIS, the Dauphin, II. iv. 14; III. v. 5; vii. 7; IV. ii. 2; v. 3.

DUKES of BOURBON, III. v. 10; IV. v. 10. ¶ IV. vii.: BURGUNDY, V. ii. 23. ¶ III. v.: *and* ORLEANS, III. vii. 3; IV. ii. 1; v. 2. ¶ III. v.

DUKES of *BERRY, II. iv.; III. v.: *BRITTANY, II. iv.: *ALENÇON, *BAR, *and* *BRABANT, III. v.

The Constable of France, II. iv. 29; III. v. 15; vii. 1; IV. ii. 8; v. 1.

GRANDPRÉ, IV. ii. 38. ¶ III. v.: *and* RAMBURES, III. vii. 66; IV. ii. 12. ¶ III. v.; IV. v., French Lords.

*The Admiral of France, III. v.: *BEAUMONT, III. v.; IV. ii.: *BOUCICAUT, *CHAROLOIS, *FAUQUEMBERGUE, *FOIX, *LESTRALE, *ROUSSY, *and* *VAUDEMONT, French Lords, III. v.

French Governor of Harfleur, III. iii. 44.

MONTJOY, a French Herald, III. vi. 109; IV. iii. 79; vii. 68.

A French Soldier, IV. iv. 2.

French Ambassadors to the King of England, I. ii. 237.

ISABEL, Queen of France, V. ii. 12.

KATHERINE, daughter to Charles and Isabel, III. iv. 1; V. ii. 102.

ALICE, a Lady attending on the Princess Katherine, III. iv. 3; V. ii. 111.

Hostess of the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap, formerly MISTRESS QUICKLY, now married to PISTOL, II. i. 29; iii. 1.

Lords, Ladies, Officers, Soldiers, Citizens, Messengers, *and* Attendants.

Chorus, before each of the Five Acts, and at end of Act V.

SCENE: *In* ENGLAND, *to end of* II. iii., *afterward; in* FRANCE.

An asterisk * before a name denotes a *persona muta*. The first line of each character's first speech, and the act and scene in which it stands, is given. A paragraph ¶ precedes the acts and scenes in which these characters appear, but do not speak.

The Life of Henry the Fift.

PROLOGUE.

Enter Prologue.

- O for a Muse of Fire, that would ascend
 The brightest Heaven of Invention,
 A Kingdoms for a Stage, Princes to Act,
 4 And Monarchs to behold the swelling Scene!
 Then should the Warlike Harry, like himselfe,
 Assume the Port of Mars; and at his heeles,
 Least in, like Hounds, should Famine, Sword, and Fire
 8 Crouch for employment. But pardon, Gentles all,
 The flat unrayed Spirits that hath dar'd,
 On this unworthy Scaffold, to bring forth
 So great an Object: Can this Cock-Pit hold
 12 The vastie fields of France? Or may we cramme
 Within this Wooden O the very Caskes
 That did affright the Ayre at Agincourt?
 O, pardon! since a crooked Figure may
 16 Attiest, in little place, a Milliön;
 And let vs, Cypher: to this great Accompt,
 On your imaginarie Forces worke.
 Suppose, within the Girle of these Walls,
 20 Are now confin'd two mightie Monarchies,
 Whose high up-reared and abutting Fronts,
 The perillous narrow Ocean parts asunder:
 Peece out our imperfections with your thoughts;
 24 Into a thousand parts diuide one Man,
 And make imaginarie Puissance:
 Thinke, when we talke of Horses, that you see them
 Printing their proud Hoofes i'th' receiuing Earth:
 28 For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our Kings,
 Carry them here and there;umping o're Times;
 Turning th' accomplishment of many yeeres
 Into an Houre-glasse: for the which supplie,
 32 Admit me Chorus to this Historie;
 Who Prologue-like, your humble patience pray,
 Gently to heare, kindly to iudge, our Play.

[Exit.

The Life of Henry the Fift.

I. i.—London. *An ante-chamber in the KING'S palace.*

*Enter the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY and the
BISHOP OF ELY.*

Cant.



Y Lord, Ile tell you: that felfe Bill is vrg'd,
Which, in th'eleuenth yere of y^e laft Kings reign,
Was like, and had indeed againft vs paft,

4 But that the scrambling and vnquiet time
Did push it out of farther queftiō.

Ely. But how, my Lord, fhall we refift it now?

Cant. It muft be thought on. If it paffe againft vs,

8 We loofe the better halfe of our Poffeffion:

For all the Temporall Lands, which men deuout
By Testament haue giuen to the Church,
Would they ftrip from vs; being valu'd thus:

12 As much as would maintaine, to the Kings honor,
Full fifteene Earles, and fifteene hundred Knights,
Six thoufand and two hundred good Efquires;
And, to reliefe of Lazars, and weake age
16 Of indigent faint Soules, paft corporall toyle,
A hundred Almes-houfes, right well fupply'd;

And to the Coffers of the King, beside,
A thousand pounds by th'yeere. Thus runs the Bill.

Ely. This would drinke deepe.

20 *Cant.* 'Twould drinke the Cup and all.

Ely. But what preuention?

Cant. The King is full of grace and faire regard.

Ely. And a true louer of the holy Church.

24 *Cant.* The courtes of his youth promis'd it not.

The breath no sooner left his Fathers body,

But that his wildnesse, mortify'd in him,

Seem'd to dye too : yea, at that very moment,

28 Consideration, like an Angell, came,

And whipt th'offending *Adam* out of him,

Leauing his body as a Paradife,

T'inuelop and containe Celestiall Spirits.

32 Neuer was such a sodaine Scholler made;

Neuer came Reformation in a Flood,

With such a heady currence, scowring faults;

Nor neuer *Hidra*-headed Wilfulnesse

36 So soone did loofe his Seat, and all at once,

As in this King.

Ely. We are blessed in the Change.

Cant. Heare him but reason in Diuinitie,

And, all-admiring, with an inward wish

40 You would desire the King were made a Prelate :

Heare him debate of Common-wealth Affaires,

You would say, 'it hath been all in all his study :'

Lift his discourse of Warre, and you shall heare

44 A fearefull Battaile rendred you in Musique :

Turne him to any Cause of Pollicy,

The Gordian Knot of it he will vnloofe,

Familiar as his Garter ; that, when he speaks,

48 The Ayre, a Charter'd Libertine, is still,

And the mute Wonder lurketh in mens eares,

To steale his sweet and hony'd Sentences;
So that the Art and Practique part of Life,
52 Must be the Mistresse to this Theorique :
Which is a wonder, how his Grace should gleane it,
Since his addiotion was to Courtes vaine,
His Companies vnletter'd, rude, and shallow ;
56 His Houres fill'd vp with Ryots, Banquets, Sports ;
And neuer noted in him any studie,
Any retyrement, any sequestration,
From open Haunts and Popularitie.

60 *Ely.* The Strawberry growes vnderneath the Nettle,
And holefome Berryes thriue and ripen best,
Neighbour'd by Fruit of baser qualitie :
And so the Prince obscur'd his Contemplation
64 Vnder the Veyle of Wildnesse ; which, no doubt,
Grew like the Summer Grasse, fastest by Night,
Vnseene, yet cressieue in his facultie.

Cant. It must be so ; for Miracles are ceast ;
68 And therefore we must needes admit the meanes
How things are perfected.

Ely. But, my good Lord,
How now for mittigation of this Bill
Vrg'd by the Commons ? doth his Maiestie
Incline to it, or no ?

72 *Cant.* He seemes indifferent ;
Or, rather, fwaying more vpon our part,
Then cherishing th'exhibitors against vs :
For I haue made an offer to his Maiestie,—
76 Vpon our Spirituall Conuocation,
And in regard of Causes now in hand,
Which I haue open'd to his Grace at large,
As touching France,—to giue a greater Summe
80 Then euer at one time the Clergie yet
Did to his Predecessors part withall.

Ely. How did this offer seeme receiu'd, my Lord?

Cant. With good acceptance of his Maiestie :

84 Saue, that there was not time enough to heare,
—As, I perceiu'd, his Grace would faine haue done,—
The seueralls, and vnhidden passages
Of his true Titles to some certaine Dukedomes,
88 And, generally, to the Crowne and Seat of France,
Deriu'd from *Edward*, his great Grandfather.

Ely. What was th'impediment that broke this off?

Cant. The French Embassador, vpon that instant,
92 Crau'd audience; and the howre, I thinke, is come,
To giue him hearing: Is it foure a Clock?

Ely. It is.

Cant. Then goe we in, to know his Embassie;
96 Which I could, with a ready guesse, declare,
Before the Frenchman speake a word of it.

Ely. Ile wait vpon you, and I long to heare it. [*Exeunt.*

I. ii.—*The same. The Presence chamber.*

*Enter the KING, CLARENCE, BEDFORD, GLOUCESTER, EXETER,
WARWICK, WESMERLAND, and Attendants.*

K. Hen. Where is my gracious Lord of Canterbury?

Exeter. Not here in presence.

K. Hen. Send for him, good Vnckle.

Westm. Shall we call in th'Ambassador, my Liege?

4 *K. Hen.* Not yet, my Cousin; we would be resolu'd,
Before we heare him, of some things of weight,
That taske our thoughts, concerning vs and France.

*Enter the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY and the
BISHOP OF ELY.*

Cant. God and his Angels guard your sacred Throne,
And make you long become it!

8 *K. Hen.* Sure, we thanke you.

- My learned Lord, we pray you to proceed,
And iustly and religiously unfold
Why the Law *Salike*, that they haue in France,
12 Or should, or should not, barre vs in our Clayme :
And, God forbid, my deare and faithfull Lord,
That you should fashion, wrest, or bow your reading,
Or nicely charge your vnderstanding Soule
16 With opening Titles miscreate, whose right
Sutes not in natie colours with the truth :
For God doth know, how many, now in health,
Shall drop their blood, in approbatiön
20 Of what your reuerence shall incite vs to.
Therefore take heed how you impawne our Person,
How you awake our sleeping Sword of Warre :
We charge you in the Name of God, take heed :
24 For neuer two such Kingdomes did contend,
Without much fall of blood ; whose guiltlesse drops
Are euery one a Woe, a fore Complaint,
'Gainst him whose wrongs giues edge vnto the Swords
28 That makes such waste in briefe mortalitie.
Vnder this Coniuration, speake, my Lord :
For we will heare, note, and beleue in heart,
That what you speake, is in your Conscience washt,
32 As pure as sinne with Baptisme.
- Cant.* Then heare me, gracious Soueraign, & you Peers
That owe your selues, your liues, and seruices,
To this Imperiall Throne : There is no barre
36 To make against your Highnesse Clayme to France,
But this, which they produce from *Pharamond* :
'*In terram Salicam Mulieres ne succedant*,' †
'No Woman shall succeed in *Salike* Land :'
40 Which *Salike* Land, the French vniustly gloze
To be the Realme of France, and *Pharamond*
The founder of this Law, and Female Barre.

- Yet their owne Authors faithfully affirme,
44 That the Land *Salike* is in Germanie,
Betweene the Flouds of Sala and of Elue;
Where *Charles* the Great, hauing subdu'd the Saxons,
There left behind, and settled certaine French,
48 Who,—holding in disdain the German Women,
For some dishonest manners of their life,—
Establisht then this Law; to wit, 'No Female
Should be Inheritrix in *Salike* Land: '
52 Which *Salike*, as I said, 'twixt Elue and Sala,
Is at this day in Germanie call'd *Meisen*.
Then doth it well appeare, the *Salike* Law
Was not deuised for the Realme of France;
56 Nor did the French possesse the *Salike* Land
Vntill foure hundred one and twentie yeeres
After defunction of King *Pharamond*,—
Idly suppos'd the founder of this Law,—
60 Who died within the yeere of our Redemption
Foure hundred twentie six; and *Charles* the Great
Subdu'd the Saxons, and did seat the French
Beyond the Riuer Sala, in the yeere
64 Eight hundred five. Besides, their Writers say,
King *Pepin*, which depos'd *Childerike*,
Did, as Heire Generall,—being descended
Of *Blithild*, which was Daughter to King *Clothair*,—
68 Make Clayme and Title to the Crowne of France.
Hugh Capet also,—who vsurpt the Crowne
Of *Charles* the Duke of *Lorraine*, sole Heire male
Of the true Line and Stock of *Charles* the Great,—
72 To find his Title with some shewes of truth,
—Though, in pure truth, it was corrupt and naught,—
Conuey'd himselfe as th' Heire to th' Lady *Lingare*,
Daughter to *Charlemaine*, who was the Sonne
76 To *Lewes* the Emperour, and *Lewes*, the Sonne

- Of *Charles* the Great. Also King *Lewes* the Tenth,
 Who was sole Heire to the Vsurper *Capet*,
 Could not keepe quiet in his conscience,
 80 Wearing the Crowne of France, 'till satisfi'd
 That faire Queene *Isabel*, his Grandmother,
 Was Lineall of the Lady *Ermengare*,
 Daughter to *Charles* the foresaid Duke of *Lorraine* :
 84 By the which Marriage, the Lyne of *Charles* the Great
 Was re-vnited to the Crowne of France.
 So that, as cleare as is the Summers Sunne,
 King *Pepins* Title, and *Hugh Capets* Clayme.
 88 King *Lewes* his satisfaction, all appeare
 To hold in Right and Title of the Female :
 So doe the Kings of France vnto this day ;
 Howbeit they would hold vp this Salique Law
 92 To barre your Highnesse clayming from the Female ;
 And rather chuse to hide them in a Net,
 Then amply to imbarre their crooked Titles
 Vsurpt from you and your Progenitors.
 96 *K. Hen.* May I, with right and conscience, make this claim ?
Cant. The sinne vpon my head, dread Souëraigne !
 For in the Booke of *Numbers* is it writ,
 ' When the man dyes, let the Inheritance
 100 Descend vnto the Daughter.' Gracious Lord,
 Stand for your owne ; vnwind your bloody Flagge ;
 Looke back into your mightie Ancestors :
 Goe, my dread Lord, to your great Grandfires Tombe,
 104 From whom you clayme ; inuoke his Warlike Spirit,
 And your Great Vnckles, *Edward* the Black Prince,
 Who on the French ground play'd a Tragedie,
 Making defeat on the full Power of France,
 108 Whiles his most mightie Father, on a Hill,
 Stood smiling to behold his Lyons Whelpe
 Forrage in blood of French Nobilitie.

O Noble English, that could entertaine

- 112 With halfe their Forces, the full pride of France ;
And let another halfe stand laughing by,
All out of worke, and cold for action !

Ely. Awake remembrance of these valiant dead,

- 116 And with your puissant Arme renew their Feats ;
You are their Heire, you sit vpon their Throne :
The Blood and Courage, that renowned them,
Runs in your Veines ; and my thrice-puissant Liege
120 Is in the very May-Morne of his Youth,
Ripe for Exploits and mightie Enterprises.

Exe. Your Brother Kings and Monarchs of the Earth,
Doe all expect that you should rowse your selfe,

- 124 As did the former Lyons of your Blood. (might :

West. They know your Grace hath cause, and means, and
So hath your Highnesse ; neuer King of England
Had Nobles richer, and more loyall Subiects,

- 128 Whose hearts haue left their bodyes here in England,
And lye pauillion'd in the fields of France.

Cant. O, let their bodyes follow, my deare Liege,
With Blood,† and Sword, and Fire, to win your Right :

- 132 In ayde whereof, we of the Spiritualtie,
Will rayse your Highnesse such a mightie Summe,
As neuer did the Clergie at one time
Bring in to any of your Ancestors.

- 136 *K. Hen.* We must not onely arme t'inuade the French,
But lay downe our proportions to defend
Against the Scot, who will make roade vpon vs,
With all aduantages.

- 140 *Cant.* They of those Marches, gracious Soueraign,
Shall be a Wall sufficient to defend
Our in-land from the pilfering Borderers.

- K. Hen.* We do not meane the courting snatchers onely,
144 But feare the maine intendment of the Scot,

- Who hath been still a giddy neighbour to vs;
For you shall reade, that my great Grandfather
Neuer went with his forces into France,
148 But that the Scot, on his vnfurnisht Kingdome,
Came pouring like the Tyde into a breach,
With ample and brim fulnesse of his force;
Galling the gleaned Land with hot Affayes;
152 Girding with grieuous siege, Castles and Townes :
That England, being emptie of defence,
Hath shooke and trembled at th'ill neighbourhood.
Cant. She hath bin then more fear'd then harm'd, my Liege;
156 For heare her but exampl'd by her selfe :
When all her Cheualrie hath been in France,
And shee, a mourning Widdow of her Nobles,
Shee hath her selfe not onely well defended,
160 But taken, and impounded as a Stray,
The King of Scots, whom shee did send to France,
To fill King *Edwards* fame with prisoner Kings,
And make her † Chronicle as rich with prayse,
164 As is the Owfe and bottome of the Sea
With funken Wrack and sum-lesse Treasuries.
West. But there's a saying very old and true :
' *If that you will France win,*
168 *Then with Scotland first begin.*' †
For once the Eagle, England, being in prey,
To her vnguarded Nest, the Weazell Scot
Comes sneaking, and so sucks her Princely Egges,
172 Playing the Moufe in absence of the Cat,
To taint † and hauocke more then she can eate.
Exet. It followes then, the Cat must stay at home :
Yet that is but a crush'd necessity,
176 Since we haue lockes to safegard necessities,
And pretty traps to catch the petty theeues.
While that the Armed hand doth fight abroad,

Th'aduised head defends it selfe at home;

- 180 For Gouernment—though high, and low, and lower,
Put into parts—doth keepe in one consent,
Congreeing in a full and natural close,
Like Musicke.

Cant.

Therefore doth heauen diuide

- 184 The state of man in diuers functions,
Setting endeuour in continual motion;
To which is fixed, as an ayme or butt,
Obedience: for so worke the Hony Bees;
188 Creatures that, by a rule in Nature, teach
The Act of Order to a peopled Kingdome.
They haue a King, and Officers of sorts:
Where some, like Magistrates, correct at home;
192 Others, like Merchants, venter Trade abroad;
Others, like Souldiers, armed in their stings,
Make boote vpon the Summers Veluet buddes,
Which pillage, they with merry march bring home
196 To the Tent-royal of their Emperor:
Who, busied in his Maiesties, surueyes
The singing Mafons building roofes of Gold;
The ciuil Citizens kneading vp the hony;
200 The poore Mechanicke Porters crowding in
Their heauy burthens at his narrow gate;
The sad-ey'd Iustice, with his surly humme,
Deliuering ore to Execútors pale
204 The lazie yawning Drone. I this inferre:
That many things, hauing full reference
To one consent, may worke contrarioutly:
As many Arrowes, loosed feuerall wayes,
208 Come to one marke; as many wayes meet in one towne;
As many fresh streames meet in one salt sea;
As many Lynes close in the Dials center;
So may a thousand actions, once a foote,

- 212 End † in one purpose, and be all well borne
Without defeat. Therefore to France, my Liege;
Diuide your happy England into foure,
Whereof, take you one quarter into France,
216 And you withall shall make all Gallia shake.
If we, with thrice such powers left at home,
Cannot defend our owne doores from the dogge,
Let vs be worried, and our Nation lose
220 The name of hardinesse and policie.

K. Hen. Call in the Messengers sent from the Dolphin.

[Exeunt some Attendants.]

- Now are we well resolu'd; and, by Gods helpe,
And yours, the noble finewes of our power,
224 France being ours, wee'l bend it to our Awe,
Or breake it all to peeces: Or there wee'l fit,
Ruling in large and ample Emperie,
Ore France and all her almost Kingly Dukedomes;
228 Or lay these bones in an vnworthy Vrne,
Tumbleffe, with no remembrance ouer them:
Either our History shall, with full mouth,
Speake freely of our Acts; or else our graue,
232 Like Turkish mute, shall haue a tonguelesse mouth,
Not worshipt with a waxen Epitaph.

Enter Ambassadors of France.

- Now are we well prepar'd to know the pleasure
Of our faire Cofin Dolphin; for we heare
236 Your greeting is from him, not from the King.
Amb. May't please your Maiestie to giue vs leaue
Freely to render what we haue in charge;
Or shall we sparingly shew you farre off
240 The Dolphins meaning, and our Embasie?

K. Hen. We are no Tyrant, but a Christian King,
Vnto whose grace our passion is as subiect,

As is our wretches fettred in our prisons :

244 Therefore, with franke and with vncurbed plainnesse,
Tell vs the *Dolphins* miude.

Amb.

Thus, than, in few.

Your Highnesse, lately sending into France,
Did claime some certaine Dukedomes, in the right
248 Of your great Predecessor, King *Edward* the third.
'In answer of which claime, the Prince our Master
Sayes, ' that you saunour too much of your youth,
And bids you be aduis'd : There's nought in France,
252 That can be with a nimble Galliard wonne ;
You cannot reuell into Dukedomes there.'
He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,
This Tun of Treasure ; [*He deliuereth a Tunne of Tennis*
Balles.] and, in lieu of this,

256 Desires you let the dukedomes that you claime,
Heare no more of you. This, the *Dolphin* speakes.

K. Hen. What Treasure, Vncle ?

Ere.

Tennis balles, my Liege.

K. Hen. We are glad the *Dolphin* is so pleasant with vs ;

260 His Present, and your paines, we thanke you for :
When we haue matcht our Rackets to these Balles,
We will, in France, by Gods grace, play a set,
Shall strike his fathers Crowne into the hazard.

264 Tell him, ' he hath made a match with such a Wrangler,
That all the Courts of France will be disturb'd
With Chaces.' And we vnderstand him well,
How he comes o're vs with our wilder dayes,

268 Not meafuring what vs we made of them.
We neuer vaw'd this poore seate of England ;
And, therefore, liuing hence, did giue our selfe
To barbarous license ; As 'tis euer common,

272 That men are merriest when they are from home.
But tell the *Dolphin*, ' I will keepe my State ;

- Be like a King, and shew my sayle of Greatnesse,
When I do rowle me in my Throne of France:
- 276 For that I haue layd by my Maiestie,
And plodded like a man for working dayes;
But I will rise there with so full a glorie,
That I will dazle all the eyes of France,
- 280 Yea, strike the *Dolphin* blinde to looke on vs.
And tell the pleasant Prince, 'this Mocke of his
Hath turn'd his balles to Gun-stones; and his soule
Shall stand fore charged for the wastefull vengeance
- 284 That shall flye with them: for many a thousand widows
Shall this his Mocke, mocke out of their deer husbands;
Mocke mothers from their sonnes, mock Castles downe;
And some are yet vngotten and vnborne,
- 288 That shal haue cause to curse the *Dolphins* scorne.'
But this lyes all within the wil of God,
To whom I do appeale, and in whose name,
Tel you the *Dolphin*, 'I am comming on,
- 292 To venge me as I may, and to put forth
My rightfull hand in a wel-hallow'd cause.'
So, get you hence in peace; And tell the *Dolphin*,
'His left will saour but of shallow wit,
- 296 When thousands weepe more then did laugh at it.'
¶ Couuey them with safe conduct. ¶ Fare you well.

[*Exeunt* Ambassadors.

Exc. This was a merry Message.

K. Hen. We hope to make the Sender blush at it.

[*Descends from his throne.*

- 300 Therefore, my Lords, omit no happy howre
That may giue furth'rance to our Expedition;
For we haue now no thought in vs but France,
Saue those to God, that runne before our businesse:
- 304 Therefore, let our proportions for these Warres,
Be soone collected, and all things thought vpon,

C

C

That may, with reasonable swiftnesse, adde
 More Feathers to our Wings; for, God before,
 308 Wee'le chide this *Dolphin* at his fathers doore.
 Therefore, let euery man now taske his thought,
 That this faire Action may on foot be brought. [Exeunt.

ACT II.

Flourish. Enter Chorus.

Now all the Youth of England are on fire,
 And filken Dalliance in the Wardrobe lyes;
 Now thriue the Armorers, and Honors thought
 4 Reignes solely in the breast of euery man.
 They sell the Pasture now, to buy the Horse;
 Following the Mirror of all Christian Kings,
 With winged beeles, as English *Mercuries*.
 8 For now sits Expectation in the Ayre;
 And hides a Sword, from Hilt vnto the Point,
 With Crownes Imperiall, Crownes, and Coronets,
 Promis'd to *Harry*, and his followers.
 12 The French, aduis'd by good intelligence
 Of this most dreadfull preparatiõ,
 Shako in their feare; and with pale Pollicy
 Seeke to diuert the English purposes.
 16 O England!—Modell to thy inward Greatnesse,
 Like little Body with a mightie Heart,—
 What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do,
 Were all thy children kinde and naturall!
 20 But see, thy fault France hath in thee found out.
 A nest of hollow bosomes, which he fills
 With treacherous Crownes; and three corrupted men,—
 One, *Richard Earle of Cambridge*; and the second,
 24 *Henry Lord Scroope of Mashum*; and the third,

- Sir *Thomas Grey*, Knight, of Northumberland,—
Haue, for the Gilt of France, (O guilt, indeed !)
Confirm'd Conspiracy with fearefull France ;
28 And by their hands, this grace of Kings must dye,
—If Hell and Treason hold their promises,—
Ere he take ship for France, and in Southampton.
Linger your patience on, and wee'l digest
32 Th'abuse of distance ; force a play.
The summe is payde ; the Traitors are agreed ;
The King is set from London ; and the Scene
Is now transported, Gentles, to Southampton :
36 There is the Play-house now, there must you sit :
And thence to France shall we conuey you safe,
And bring you backe, Charming the narrow seas
To giue you gentle Paffe ; for, if we may,
40 Wee'l not offend one stomacke with our Play.
But till the King come forth, and not till then,
Vnto Southampton do we shift our Scene. [Exit.

II. i.—London. *A street.*

Enter Corporall NYM, and Lieutenant BARDOLFE.

Bar. Well met, Corporall *Nym*.

Nym. Good morrow, Lieutenant *Bardolfe*.

Bar. What, are Ancient *Pistol* and you friends yet ?

- 4 *Nym.* For my part, I care not : I say little : but when
time shall serue, there shall be smiles ; but that shall be as
it may. I dare not fight, but I will winke and holde out
mine yron : it is a simple one, but what though ? It will
8 toste Cheese, and it will endure cold as another mans sword
will : and there's an end.

Bar. I will bestow a breakfast to make you friendes ;
and wee'l bee all three sworne brothers to France : Let't
12 be so, good Corporall *Nym*.

Nym. Faith, I will liue so long as I may, that's the certaine

of it; and when I cannot liue any longer, I will doe as I may:
That is my rest, that is the rendezous of it.

16 *Bar.* It is certaine, Corporall, that he is married to
Nell Quickly; and, certainly, she did you wrong, for you
were troth-plight to her.

Nym. I cannot tell: Things must be as they may: men may
20 sleepe, and they may haue their throats about them at that
time; and some say, kniues haue edges. It must be as it
may: though patience be a tyred mare, † yet shee will plodde.
There must be Conclusions. Well, I cannot tell.

Enter PISTOLL and Hostesse QUICKLY, his wife.

24 *Bar.* Heere comes Ancient *Pistoll* and his wife: good
Corporall, be patient heere. ¶ How now, mine Hoaste *Pistoll*?

Pist. Bafe Tyke, cal'st thou mee 'Hoste'?

Now, by this hand I sweare, I scorne the tenne;

28 Nor shall my *Nel* keep Lodgers.

Host. No, by my troth, not long: For we cannot lodge
and board a dozen or fourteene Gentlewomen, that liue
honestly by the pricke of their Needles, but it will bee
32 thought we keepe a Bawdy-house straight. [*Nym draws.*]
O welliday, Lady, if he be not hewne! Now we shall see
wilful adultery and murther committed.

Bar. Good Lieutenant, good Corporal, offer nothing heere.

36 *Nym.* Pish!

Pist. Pish for thee, Island dogge! thou prickeard cur of Island!

Host. Good Corporall *Nym*, shew thy valor, and put vp
your sword.

40 *Nym.* [*To Hostesse.*] Will you shogge off? [*To PISTOLL.*]
I would haue you *solus*. [*Sheathes his sword.*]

Pist. *Solus*, egregious dog? O Viper vile!

The *solus* in thy most meruailous face;

44 The *solus* in thy teeth, and in thy throate,

And in thy hatefull Lungs, yea, in thy Maw perdy,

And, which is worfe, within thy naffie mouth!

I do retort the *folus* in thy bowels;

48 For I can take, and *Piftols* cocke is vp,

And flafhing fire will follow.

Nym. I am not *Barbafon*; you cannot coniure mee. I haue an humor to knocke you indifferently well. If you
52 grow fowle with me, *Piftoll*, I will fcoure you with my Rapier, as I may, in fayre tearmes. If you would walke off, I would pricke your guts a little, in good tearmes, as I may; and that's the humor of it.

56 *Pifl.* O Braggard vile, and damned furious wight!

The Graue doth gape, and doting death is neere;

Therefore exhale.

[*They drawe.*]

Bar. Heare me, heare me what I fay: Hee that ftrikes
60 the firft ftroake, Ile run him vp to the hilt, as I am a foldier.

[*Draws.*]

Pifl. An oath of mickle might; and fury fhall abate.

[*Sheathes his sword.*]

Giue me thy fift, thy fore-foote to me giue:

64 Thy fpirites are moft tall.

Nym. I will cut thy throate, one time or other, in faire
termes; that is the humor of it.

[*Sheathes his sword.*]

Piftoll. *Coupe la gorge* is the word. I thee defie againe.†

68 O hound of Creet, think'ft thou my fpoufe to get?

No; to the fpittle goe,

And from the Poudring tub of infamy

Fetch forth the Lazar Kite of *Creffids* kinde,

72 *Doll Teare-sheete* fhe by name, and her, efpoufe:

I haue, and I will hold, the *Quondam Quickly*

For the onely fhee; and—*Pauca*, there's enough.

Go to.†

Enter the Boy.

76 *Boy.* Mine Hoaft *Piftoll*, you muft come to my Mayfler,
and your Hofteffe: He is very ficke, & would to bed.

¶ Good *Bardolfe*, put thy face betweene his sheets, and do the Office of a Warming-pan. Faith, he's very ill.

80 *Bard.* Away, you Rogue.

Hof. By my troth, he'l yeeld the Crow a pudding one of these dayes: the King has kild his heart. ¶ Good Husband, come home presently.

[*Exeunt Hofteffe QUICKLY and the Boy.*]

84 *Bar.* Come, shall I make you two friends? Wee must to France together: why the diuel should we keep kniues to cut one anothers throats?

Pist. Let floods ore-swell, and fiends for food howle on!

88 *Nym.* You'l pay me the eight shillings I won of you at Betting?

Pist. Bafe is the Slaue that payes.

Nym. That now I wil haue; that's the humor of it.

Pist. As manhood shal compound: push home. [*They draw.*]

92 *Bard.* By this sword, hee that makes the first thrust, Ile kill him; By this sword, I wil.

Pi. Sword is an Oath, & Oaths must haue their course.

Bar. Co[r]porall *Nym*, & thou wilt be friends, be friends: 96 and thou wilt not, why, then be enemies with me to[.]. Prethee put vp.

[*Nym.* I shall haue my eight shillings I wonne of you at Betting?]

100 *Pist.* A Noble shalt thou haue, and present pay;

And Liquor likewise will I giue to thee,

And friendshippe shall combyne, and brotherhood:

Ile liue by *Nynne*, & *Nynne* shall liue by me;—

104 Is not this iust?—For I shal Sutler be

Vnto the Campe, and profits will accrue.

Giue mee thy hand.

Nym. I shall haue my Noble?

108 *Pist.* In cash most iustly payd.

Nym. Well, then, that 's † the humor of t.

[*They sheathe their swords.*]

Re-enter Hostesse QUICKLY.

Host. As euer you come of women, come in quickly to fir

John : A, poore heart ! hee is so shak'd of a burning quotidian

112 Tertian, that it is most lamentable to behold. Sweet men, come to him.

Nym. The King hath run bad humors on the Knight, that's the euen of it.

116 *Pist.* *Nym*, thou hast spoke the right ;
His heart is fracted and corroborate.

Nym. The King is a good King : but it must bee as it may ; he passēs some humors, and carreeres.

Pist. Let vs condole the Knight ; for, Lambekins, we will
120 liue. [Exeunt.

II. ii.—Southampton. *A council-chamber.*

Enter EXETER, BEDFORD, and WESTMERLAND.

Bed. 'Fore God, his Grace is bold, to trust these traitors.

Exe. They shall be apprehended by and by.

West. How smooth and euen they do bear themselves !

4 As if allegiance in their bosomes fate,
Crowned with faith and constant loyalty.

Bed. The King hath note of all that they intend,
By interception which they dreame not of.

8 *Exe.* Nay, but the man that was his bedfellow,
Whom he hath dull'd and cloy'd with gracious fauours :
That he should, for a forraigne purse, so sell
His Soueraignes life to death and treachery !

*Trumpets sound. Enter the KING, CAMBRIDGE,
SICCOFFE, GREY, and Attendants.*

12 *K. Hen.* Now sits the winde faire, and we will aboard.
My Lord of *Cambridge*, and my kinde Lord of *Masham*,
And you, my gentle Knight, giue me your thoughts :
Thinke you not, that the powres we beare with vs
16 Will cut their passage through the force of France ;

Doing the execution and the acte,
For which we haue in head assembled them?

Scro. No doubt, my Liege, if each man do his best.

20 *K. Hen.* I doubt not that; since we are well perswaded
We carry not a heart with vs from hence,
That growes not in a faire consent with ours;
Nor leaue not one behinde, that doth not wish
24 Successe and Conquest to attend on vs.

Cam. Neuer was Monarch better fear'd and lou'd
Then is your Maiesty: there's not, I thinke, a subiect,
That fits in heart-greefe and vncasinesse,
28 Vnder the sweet shade of your gouernment.

Grey. True: those that were your Fathers enemies
Haue steep'd their gauls in hony, and do serue you
With hearts create of duty and of zeale.

32 *K. Hen.* We therefore haue great cause of thankfulness;
And shall forget the office of our hand
Sooner then quittance of desert and merit,
According to the weight and worthinesse.

36 *Scro.* So seruice shall with Steele'd sinewes toyle,
And labour shall refresh it selfe with hope,
To do your Grace incessant seruises.

K. Hen. We Iudge no lesse. ¶ Vnkle of Exeter,
40 Inlarge the man committed yesterday,
That rayl'd against our person: We consider
It was excesse of Wine that set him on,
And, on his more aduice, We pardon him.

44 *Scro.* That's mercy, but too much security:
Let him be punish'd, Soueraigne, least example
Breed, by his sufferance, more of such a kind.

K. Hen. O, let vs yet be mercifull.

48 *Cam.* So may your Highnesse, and yet punish too.

Grey. Sir,
You shew great mercy if you giue him life,

After the taste of much correction.

52 *K. Hen.* Alas, your too much louse and care of me,
Are heauy Orifons 'gainst this poore wretch.
If little faults, proceeding on distemper,
Shall not be wink'd at, how shall we stretch our eye
56 When capitall crimes, chew'd, swallow'd, and digested,
Apppeare before vs? Wee'l yet inlarge that man,
Though *Cambridge*, *Scroope*, and *Grey*,† in their deere care
And tender preservation of our person,

60 Wold haue him punish'd. And now to our French causes;
Who are the late Commissioners?

Cam. I one, my Lord:
Your Highnesse bad me aske for it to day.

64 *Scro.* So did you me, my Liege.
Grey. And I, my Royall Soueraigne.

K. Hen. Then, *Richard*, Earle of *Cambridge*, there is yours:
¶ There yours, Lord *Scroope* of *Majsham*: ¶ and, Sir Knight,
68 *Grey* † of *Northumberland*, this same is yours:—
Reade them; and know, I know your worthinesse.
¶ My Lord of *Westmerland*, and Vnkle *Exeter*,
We will aboard to night. ¶ Why, how now, Gentlemen!

72 What see you in those papers, that you loose
So much complexion? ¶ Looke ye, how they change!
Their cheekes are paper. ¶ Why, what reade you there,
That hath † so cowarded and chac'd your blood
Out of apparence?

76 *Cam.* I do confesse my fault;
And do submit me to your Highnesse mercy.

Grey. }
Scro. } To which we all appeale.

K. Hen. The mercy, that was quicke in vs but late,
80 By your owne counsaile is supprest and kill'd:
You must not dare, for shame, to talke of mercy;
For your owne reasons turne into your bosomes,

- As dogs.vpon their maisters, worrying you.
- 84 ¶ See you, my Princes, and my Noble Peeres,
These English monsters ! My Lord of *Cambridge* heere,—
You know how apt our loue was, to accord
To furnish [him] with all appertinents
- 88 Belonging to his Honour ; and this man
Hath, for a few light Crownes, lightly conspir'd,
And sworne vnto the practises of France,
To kill vs heere in Hampton : To the which,
- 92 This Knight, no lesse for bounty bound to Vs
Then Cambridge is, hath likewise sworne.—¶ But, O !
What shall I say to thee, Lord *Scroope* ? thou cruell,
Ingratefull, sauage, and inhumane Creature !
- 96 Thou, that didst beare the key of all my counsailes,
That knew'st the very bottome of my soule,
That almost might'st haue coyn'd me into Golde,
Would'st thou haue practis'd on me for thy vse :
- 100 May it be possible, that forraigne hyer
Could out of thee extract one sparke of euill
That might annoy my finger ? 'Tis so strange,
That, though the truth of it stands off as grosse:
- 104 As blacke and white, my eye will scarcely see it.
Treason and murther euer kept together,
As two yooke diuels sworne to eythurs purpose,
Working so grossely in a † naturall cause,
- 108 That admiration did not hoope at them :
But thou, 'gainst all proportion, didst bring in
Wonder, to waite on treason, and on murther :
And whatsoever cunning fiend it was
- 112 That wrought vpon thee so preposterously,
Hath got the voyce in hell for excellence :
And other diuels, that suggest by treasons,
Do botch and bungle vp damnation
- 116 With patches, colours, and with formes being fetcht

- From glitt'ring semblances of piety;
But he that temper'd thee, bad thee stand vp,
Gaued thee no instance why thou shouldst do treason,
120 Vnlesse to dub thee with the name of Traitor.
If that same Dæmon, that hath gull'd thee thus,
Should with his Lyon-gate walke the whole world,
He might returne to vastie Tartar backe,
124 And tell the Legions, 'I can neuer win
A soule so easie as that Englishmans.'
Oh, how hast thou with iealousie infected
The sweetnesse of affiance! Shew men dutifull?
128 Why, so didst thou: Seeme they graue and learned?
Why, so didst thou: Come they of Noble Family?
Why, so didst thou: Seeme they religious?
Why, so didst thou: Or are they spare in diet;
132 Free from grosse passion, or of mirth or anger;
Constant in spirit, not fweruing with the blood;
Garnish'd and deck'd in modest complement;
Not working with the eye without the eare,
136 And, but in purged iudgement, trusting neither?
Such, and so finely boulded, didst thou seeme:
And thus thy fall hath left a kinde of blot,
To ma[r]ke the † full fraught man and best indu'd,
140 With some suspition. I will weepe for thee;
For this reuolt of thine, me thinkes, is like
Another fall of Man. ¶ Their faults are open:
Arrest them to the answer of the Law;
144 And God acquit them of their practises!
Exe. I arrest thee of High Treason, by the name of
Richard Earle of Cambridge.
I arrest thee of High Treason, by the name of *Henry* †
148 Lord *Scroope of Masham*. †
I arrest thee of High Treason, by the name of *Thomas*
Grey, Knight, of Northumberland.

Scro. Our purposes, God iustly hath discover'd;
152 And I repent my fault more then my death;
Which I beseech your Highnesse to forgiue,
Although my body pay the price of it.

Cam. For me: the Gold of France did not seduce;
156 Although I did admit it as a motiue,
The sooner to effect what I intended:
But God be thanked for preuentión;
Which [I] in sufferance heartily will reioyce,
160 Beseeching God, and you, to pardon mee.

Grey. Neuer did faithfull subiect more reioyce
At the discouery of most dangerous Treason,
Then I do at this houre ioy ore my selfe,
164 Preuented from a damned enterprize:
My fault, but not my body, pardon, Soueraigne!

K. Hen. God quit you in his mercy! Hear your sentence.
You haue conspir'd against Our Royall person,
168 Ioynd with an enemy proclaim'd, and from his Coffers
Recey'd the Golden Earnest of Our death;
Wherein you would haue sold your King to slaughter,
His Princes and his Peeres to seruitude,
172 His Subjects to oppresion and contempt,
And his whole Kingdome into desolation.
Touching our person, seeke we no reuenge;
But we our Kingdomes safety must so tender,
176 Whose ruine you [haue] sought, that to her Lawes
We do deliuer you. Get you therefore hence,
Poore miserable wretches, to your death:
The taste whereof, God, of his mercy, giue
180 You patience to indure, and true Repentance
Of all your deare offences! ¶ Beare them hence.

[*Exeunt CAMBRIDGE, SCROOPE and GREY, guarded.*]

¶ Now, Lords, for France; the enterprize whereof
Shall be to you, as vs, like glorious.

184 We doubt not of a faire and luckie Warre ;
Since God so graciously hath brought to light
This dangerous Treason, lurking in our way,
To hinder our beginnings. We doubt not now

188 But euery Rubbe is smoothed on our way.
Then forth, deare Countreyemen : Let vs deliuer
Our Puissance into the hand of God,
Putting it fraight in expedition.

192 Chearely to Sea ; the signes of Warre aduance :
No King of England, if not King of France !

[*Flourish.* *Exeunt.*

II. iii.—London. *Before the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap.*

Enter PISTOLL, NIM, BARDOLPH, Hostesse QUICKLY, and
the Boy.

Hostesse. 'Prythee, honey sweet Husband, let me bring thee
to Staines.

Pistoll. No ; for my manly heart doth erne.

4 ¶ *Bardolph*, be blythe : ¶ *Nim*, rowse thy vaunting Veines :
¶ Boy, brisle thy Courage vp ; for *Falstaffe* hee is dead,
And wee must erne therefore.

Bard. Would I were with him, wheresomere hee is,
8 eyther in Heauen or in Hell.

Hostesse. Nay, sure, hee's not in Hell : hee's in *Arthurs*
Bosome, if euer man went to *Arthurs* Bosome. A made a
finer end, and went away and it had beene any Christome
12 Child ; a parted eu'n iust betweene Twelue and One, eu'n
at the turning o'th'Tyde : for after I saw him fumble with
the Sheets, and play with Flowers, and smile vpon his fingers
end, I knew there was but one way ; for his Nose was as
16 sharpe as a Pen, and a babbled † of greene fields. 'How now,
Sir *Iohn* ? quoth I : what, man ! be a good cheare.' So a
cryed out 'God, God, God !' three or foure times : now I,
to comfort him, bid him a should not thinke of God ; I

20 hop'd there was no neede to trouble himfelfe with any
fuch thoughts yet: fo a bad me lay more Clothes on his
feet: I put my hand into the Bed, and felt them, and they
were as cold as any ftone; then I felt to his knees, and fo
24 vpward, and vpward,† and all was as cold as any ftone.

Nim. They fay he cryed out of Sack.

Hofteffe. I, that a did.

Bard. And of Women.

28 *Hofteffe.* Nay, that a did not.

Boy. Yes, that a did; and faid they were Deules incarnate.

Hofteffe. A could neuer abide Carnation; 'twas a Colour he
neuer lik'd.

32 *Boy.* A faid once, the Deule would haue him about Women.

Hofteffe. A did in fome fort, indeed, handle Women; but
then hee was rumatique, and talk'd of the Whore of Babylon.

Boy. Doe you not remember a faw a Flea fticke vpon
36 *Bardolphs* Nofe, and a faid it was a blacke Soule burning
in Hell [fire]?

Bard. Well, the fuell is gone that maintain'd that fire:
that's all the Riches I got in his feruice.

40 *Nim.* Shall wee fhogg? the King will be gone from
Southampton.

Piff. Come, let's away. ¶ My Loue, giue me thy Lippen.
Looke to my Chattels and my Moueables:

44 Let Sences rule; The word † is ' Pitch and pay; '
Truft none;

For Oathes are Strawes, mens Faiths are Wafer-Cakes,
And hold-faft is the onely Dogge, My Ducke;

48 Therefore, *Caueto* bee thy Counfaior.

Goe, cleare thy Chryftalls. ¶ Yoke-fellowes in Armes.

Let vs to France! like Horfe leeches, my Boyes;

To fucke, to fucke, the very blood to fucke!

52 *Boy.* And that's but vnwholesome food, they fay.

Piff. Touch her foft mouth, and march.

Bard. Farwell, Hostesse. [*Kissing her.*]

Nim. I cannot kisse, that is the humor of it ; but, adieu.

56 *Pist.* Let Hufwiferie appeare : keepe close, I thee command.

Hostesse. Farwell ; adieu. [*Exeunt.*]

II. iv.—France. *The FRENCH KING'S Palace.*

Flourish. Enter the FRENCH KING, the DOLPHIN, the CONSTABLE, the DUKES OF BERRY and BRITAINNE, and others.

Fr. King. Thus comes the English with full power vpon vs ;
And more then carefully it vs concernes
To answer Royally in our defences.

4 Therefore the Dukes of Berry, and of Britaine,
Of Brabant, and of Orleance, shall make forth,—
¶ And you, Prince Dolphin,—¶ with all swift dispatch,
To lyne, and new repayre our Townes of Warre,

8 With men of courage, and with meanes defendant ;
For England, his approaches makes as fierce
As Waters to the sucking of a Gulfe.

It fits vs then, to be as prouident

12 As feare may teach vs, out of late examples
Left by the fatall and neglected English
Vpon our fields.

Dolphin. My most redoubted Father,

It is most meet we arme vs 'gainst the Foe :

16 For Peace it selfe should not so dull a Kingdome,
Though War nor no knowne Quarrel were in question,
But that Defences, Mufters, Preparations,
Should be maintain'd, assembled, and collected,

20 As were a Warre in expectation.

Therefore, I say, 'tis meet we all goe forth
To view the sick and feeble parts of France ;
And let vs doe it with no shew of feare ;

24 No, with no more then if we heard that England
Were busied with a Whitson Morris-dance :

For, my good Liege, shee is so idly King'd,
Her Scepter so phantastically borne
28 By a vaine, giddie, shallow, humorous Youth,
That feare attends her not.

Const. O peace, Prince Dolphin!

You are too much mistaken in this King :
¶ Question, your Grace, the late Embassadors,—
32 With what great State he heard their Embassie,
How well supply'd with Noble Councillors,
How modest in exception, and, withall,
How terrible in constant resolution,—
36 And you shall find, his Vanities fore-spent
Were but the out-side of the Roman *Brutus*,
Couering Discretion with a Coat of Folly ;
As Gardeners doe with Ordure hide those Roots
40 That shall first spring, and be most delicate.

Dolphin. Well, 'tis not so, my Lord High Constable ;
But though we thinke it so, it is no matter :
In cases of defence, 'tis best to weigh
44 The Enemie more mightie then he seemes :
So the proportions of defence are fill'd ;
Which, of a weake and niggardly proiection,
Doth, like a Miser, spoyle his Coat with scanting
A little Cloth.

48 *Fr. King.* Thinke we King *Harry* strong ;
And, Princes, looke you strongly arme to meet him.
The Kindred of him hath beene flesht vpon vs ;
And he is bred out of that bloodie strain
52 That haunted vs in our familiar Pathes :
Witnessse our too much memorable shame
When Cressy Battell fatally was strucke,
And all our Princes captiu'd, by the hand
56 Of that black Name, *Eduard*, black Prince of Wales ;
Whiles that his Mountaine Sire,—on Mountaine standing,

Vp in the Ayre, crown'd with the Golden Sunne,—
Saw his Heroicall Seed, and smil'd to see him
60 Mangle the Worke of Nature, and deface
The Patternes that by God and by French Fathers
Had twentie yeeres been made. This is a Stem
Of that Victorious Stock ; and let vs feare
64 The Natiue mightinesse and fate of him.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. Embassadors, from Harry King of England,
Doc craue admittance to your Maiestie.

Fr. King. Wee'le giue them present audience. Goe, and
bring them.

[*Exeunt Messenger and certain Lords.*

68 You see this Chase is hotly follow'd, friends.

Dolphin. Turne head, and stop pursuit ; for coward Dogs .
Most spend their mouths, when what they seem to threaten,
Runs farre before them. Good my Souëraigne,

72 Take vp the English short, and let them know
Of what a Monarchie you are the Head :
Selfe-loue, my Liege, is not so vile a sinne
As selfe-neglecting.

Re-enter Lords, with EXETER and train.

Fr. King. From our Brother of England ?

76 *Exe.* From him ; and thus he greets your Maiestie.
' He wills you, in the Name of God Almighty,
That you deuest your selfe, and lay apart
The borrow'd Glories, that, by gift of Heauen,
80 By Law of Nature, and of Nations, longs
To him, and to his Heires ; namely, the Crowne,
And all wide-stretched Honors that pertaine,
By Custome and the Ordinance of Times,
84 Vnto the Crowne of France. That you may know

C

D

'Tis no sinister nor no awk-ward Clayme,
Pickt from the worme-holes of long-vanish't dayes,
Nor from the dust of old Obluion rakt,

88 He sends you this most memorable Lyne,
In euery Branch truly demonstratiue ;
Willing you ouer-looke this Pedigree : *[Presents a Paper.*
And, when you find him euently deriu'd

92 From his most fam'd of famous Ancestors,
Edward the third, he bids you then resigne
Your Crowne and Kingdome, indirectly held
From him, the Natiue and true Challenger.'

96 *Fr. King.* Or else what followes ?

Exe. Bloody constraint ; for if you hide the Crowne
Euen in your hearts, there will he rake for it :
Therefore in fierce Tempest is he conning,

100 In Thunder, and in Earth-quake, like a *loue*,
That, if requiring faile, he will compell ;
And bids you, 'in the Bowels of the Lord,
Deliu'er vp the Crowne, and to take mercie

104 On the poore Soules for whom this hungry Warre
Opens his vastie Iawes : and on your head
Turning the Widdowes Teares, the Orphans Cryes,
The dead-mens Blood, the priuy Maidens Groanes,

108 For Husbands, Fathers, and betrothed Louers,
That shall be swallow'd in this Controuersie.'
This is his Clayme, his Threatning, and my Messag'e :
Vnlesse the Dolphin be in presence here,

112 To whom expressly I bring greeting to[o].

Fr. King. For vs, we will consider of this further :
To morrow shall you beare our full intent
Back to our Brother of England.

Dolph.

For the Dolphin,

116 I stand here for him : what to him from England ?

Exe. Scorne and defiance ; sleight regard, contempt,

- And any thing that may not mis-become
The mightie Sender, doth he prize you at.
120 Thus sayes my King : 'and if your Fathers Highnesse
Doe not, in graunt of all demands at large,
Sweeten the bitter Mock you sent his Maieslie,
Hee'le call you to so hot an Answer of it,
124 That Causes and Wombie Vaultages of France
Shall chide your Trespas, and returne your Mock
In second Accent of his Ordinance.'

- Dolph.* Say : 'if my Father render faire returne,
128 It is against my will ; for I desire
Nothing but Oddes with England : to that end,
As matching to his Youth and Vanitie,
I did present him with the Paris-Balls.'
132 *Exe.* Hee'le make your Paris Louer shake for it,
Were it the Mistresse Court of mightie Europe :
And, be assur'd, you'le find a diff[er]ence,
—As we, his Subiects, haue in wonder found,—
136 Betweene the promise of his greener dayes,
And these he masters now : now he weighe Time
Euen to the utmost Graine : that you shall reade
In your owne Losses, if he stay in France.

- 140 *Fr. King.* To morrow shall you know our mind at full,

[*Flourish.*]

Exe. Dispatch vs with all speed, leaft that our King
Come here himselfe to question our delay ;
For he is footed in this Land already.

- 144 *Fr. King.* You shalbe soone dispatcht, with faire conditions :
A Night is but small breathe, and little pawse,
To answer matters of this consequence. [*Flourish.* *Exeunt.*]

ACT III.

Flourish. Enter Chorus.

- Thus with imagin'd wing our swift Scene flies,
In motion of no lesse celeritie
Then that of Thought. Suppose that you haue seene
4 The well-appointed King at Hampton † Peer
Embarke his Royaltie; and his braue Fleet
With silken Streamers the young *Phet*us fanning: †
Play with your Fancies, and in them behold,
8 Vpon the Hempen Tackle, Ship-boyes climbing;
Heare the shrill Whistle which doth order giue
To sounds confus'd; behold the threaten Sayles,
Borne with th'inuifible and creeping Wind,
12 Draw the huge Bottomes through the furrow'd Sea,
Breasting the loftie Surge. O, doe but thinke
You stand vpon the Riunge, and behold
A Citie on th'inconstant Billowes dauncing;
16 For so appeares this Fleet Maiesticall,
Holding due course to Harflew. Follow, follow!
Grapple your minds to sterage of this Naue,
And leaue your England, as dead Mid-night, still.
20 Guarded with Grandfires, Babies, and old Women,
Eyther past, or not arriu'd to, pyth and puillance:
For who is he, whose Chin is but enricht
With one appearing Hayre, that will not follow
24 These cull'd and choyse-drawne Causiliers to France?
Werke, werke your Thoughts, and therein see a Siege;

Behold the Ordenance on their Carriages,
With fatall mouthes gaping on girded Harflew.

- 28 Suppose th'Embassador from the French comes back;
Tells *Harry*, 'That the King doth offer him
Katherine his Daughter; and with her, to Dowrie,
Some petty and vnprofitable Dukedomes.'

- 32 The offer likes not: and the nimble Gunner
With Lynstock now the diuellish Cannon touches,
Alarum, and Chambers goe off.
And downe goes all before them. Still be kind,
And eech out our performance with your mind. [Exit.

Before Harfleur.

III. i.—*Alarum.* Enter the KING, EXETER, BEDFORD, and
GLOUCESTER: Soldiers with scaling ladders.

K. Hen. Once more vnto the Breach, deare friends, once
more;

Or clofe the Wall vp with our English dead!
In Peace, there's nothing so becomes a man,

- 4 As modest stillnesse and humilitie;

But when the blast of Warre blowes in our eares,
Then imitate the action of the Tyger:
Stiffen the finewes, summon † vp the blood,

- 8 Disguise faire Nature with hard-fauour'd Rage:

Then lend the Eye a terrible aspeét;
Let it pry through the portage of the Head,
Like the Brasse Cannon; let the Brow o'rewhelme it,

- 12 As fearefully as doth a galled Rocke

O're-hang and iutty his confounded Base,
Swill'd with the wild and waftfull Ocean.

Now set the Teeth, and stretch the Nofthrill wide,

- 16 Hold hard the Breath, and bend vp euery Spirit
To his full height! ¶ On, on, you Noblest † English,

- Whose blood is fet from Fathers of Warre-prooffe!—
 Fathers that, like so many *Alexanders*,
 20 Haue in these parts from Morne till Euen fought,
 And sheath'd their Swords for lack of argument :—
 Dishonour not your Mothers; now attest
 That those whom you call'd Fathers did beget you!
 24 Be Coppy now to me[n] of grosser blood,
 And teach them how to Warre! ¶ And you, good Yeomen,
 Whose Iyms were made in England, shew vs here
 The mettell of your Pasture; let vs sweare
 28 That you are worth your breeding: which I doubt not;
 For there is none of you so meane and base,
 That hath not Noble luster in your eyes.
 I see you stand like Grey-hounds in the slips,
 32 Straining † vpon the Start. The Game's afoot:
 Follow your Spirit; and, vpon this Charge,
 Cry 'God for Harry!' 'England!' and 'S. George!'
 [Exeunt. Alarum, and Chambers goe off.]

The same.

III. ii.—Enter NIM, BARDOLPH, PISTOLL, and Boy.

Bard. On, on, on, on, on! to the breach, to the breach!

Nim. 'Pray thee, Corporall, stay: the Knocks are too hot;
 and, for mine owne part, I haue not a Case of Liues: the
 4 humor of it is too hot, that is the very plaine-Song of it.

Pist. The plaine-Song is most iust; for humors doe abound:
 Knocks goe and come; Gods Vallies drop and dye;

And Sword and Shield,

8 In bloody Field,

Doth winne immortall fame.

Boy. Would I were in an Ale-house in London! I would
 giue all my fame for a Pot of Ale and safetie.

12 *Pift.* And I:

If wifhes would preuayle with me,
My purpofe fhould not fayle with me;
But thither would I high.

16 *Boy.* As duly, but not as truly,
As Bird doth fing on bough.

FLUELLEN enters and beates them in.

Flu. Vp to the preach,† you Dogges! auauunt, you
Cullions!

20 *Pift.* Be mercifull, great Duke, to men of Mould!

Abate thy Rage, abate thy manly Rage!

Abate thy Rage, great Duke!

Good Bawcock, bate thy Rage! vfe lenitie, sweet Chuck!

24 *Nim.* Thefe be good humors: your Honor wins bad
humors. [*Exeunt. Manet Boy.*]

Boy. As young as I am, I haue obferu'd thefe three
Swafhers. I am Boy to them all three: but all they three,
28 though they would ferue me, could not be Man to me;
for, indeed, three fuch Anticks† doe not amount to a man.
For *Bardolph*: hee is white-liuer'd, and red-fac'd; by the
meanes whereof a faces it out, but fights not. For *Piftoll*:
32 hee hath a killing Tongue, and a quiet Sword; by the
meanes whereof a breakes Words, and keepes whole
Weapons. For *Nim*: hee hath heard that men of few
Words are the beft men; and therefore hee fcornes to fay
36 his Prayers, left a fhould be thought a Coward: but his
few bad Words are matcht with as few good Deeds; for
a neuer broke any mans Head but his owne, and that was
againft a Poft, when he was drunke. They will feale any
40 thing, and call it 'Purchase.' *Bardolph* ftole a Lute-cafe,
bore it twelue Leagues, and fold it for three halfepeece.
Nim and *Bardolph* are fworne Brothers in filching, and
in Callice they ftole a fire-ftouell: I knew, by that peece

44 of Service, the men would carry Coales. They would
 haue me as familiar with mens Pockets as their Gloues
 or their Hand-kerchers; which makes much against my
 Manhood, if I should take from anothers Pocket to put
 48 into mine; for it is plaine pocketting vp of Wrongs.
 I must leaue them, and seeke some better Service: their
 Villany goes against my weake stomacke, and therefore
 I must cast it vp. [Exit.

Enter GOWER and FLUELLEN.

52 *Gower.* Captaine *Fluellen*, you must come presently to the
 Mynes; the Duke of Gloucester would speake with you.

Flu. To the Mynes! Tell you the Duke, it is not so
 good to come to the Mynes; for, looke you, the Mynes
 56 is not according to the disciplines of the Warre: the con-
 cauities of it is not sufficient; for, looke you, th'athur-
 farie—you may discusse vnto the Duke, looke you, his digt
 himselfe foure yard vnder the Countermines: by *Chefhu*, I
 60 thinke a will plowe vp all, if there is not petter † directions.

Gower. The Duke of Gloucester, to whom the Order
 of the Siege is giuen, is altogether directed by an Irish
 man, a very valiant Gentleman, yfaith.

64 *Flu.* It is Captaine *Makmorrice*, is it not?

Gower. I thinke it be.

Flu. By *Chefhu*, he is an Ass, as in the world: † I will
 verifie as much in his Peard: † he ha's no more directions
 68 in the true disciplines of the Warres, looke you, of the
 Roman disciplines, then is a Puppy-dog.

Enter MAKMORRICE and Captaine IAMY.

Gower. Here a comes; and the Scots Captaine, Captaine
Iamy, with him.

72 *Flu.* Captaine *Iamy* is a marvellous valorous Gentleman,
 that is certain; and of great expedition and knowledge in

th'aunchiant Warres, vpon my particular knowledge of his
directions: by *Cheſhu*, he will maintaine his Argument as
76 well as any Militarie man in the 'orld,† in the disciplines
of the Pristine Warres of the Romans.

Iamy. I ſay gudday, Captaine *Fluellen*.

Flu. Godden to your Worſhip, good Captaine *Iamy*.†

80 *Gower.* How now, Captaine *Mackmorrice*! haue you quit
the Mynes? haue the Pioners giuen o're?

Mac. By Chriſh law! tiſh ill done: the Worke iſh
giue ouer, the Trompet ſound the Retreat. By my Hand
84 I ſweare, and my fathers Soule, the Worke iſh ill done;
it iſh giue ouer: I would haue blowed vp the Towne,
ſo Chriſh ſaue me law! in an houre. O tiſh ill done, tiſh ill
done; by my Hand, tiſh ill done!

88 *Flu.* Captaine *Mackmorrice*, I peſeech† you now, will you
voutſafe me, looke you, a few diſputations with you, as partly
touching or concerning the diſciplines of the Warre, the
Roman Warres, in the way of Argument, looke you, and
92 friendly communication; partly to ſatiſſie my Opinion, and
partly for the ſatiſfaction, looke you, of my Mind, as touching
the direction of the Militarie diſcipline? that is the Point.

Iamy. It ſall be vary gud, gud feith, gud Captens bath,
96 and I ſall quit you with gud leue, as I may pick occaſion;
that ſall I, mary.

Mac. It is no time to diſcourſe, ſo Chriſh ſaue me:
the day is hot, and the Weather, and the Warres, and the
100 King, and the Dukes: it is no time to diſcourſe: the Town
is beſeech'd, and the Trumpet call vs to the breech, and
we talke, and, be Chriſh, do nothing, tis ſhame for vs all:
ſo God ſa'me, tis ſhame to ſtand ſtill, it is ſhame, by my
104 hand: and there is Throats to be cut, and Workes to be
done, and there iſh nothing done, ſo Chriſt ſa'me law!

Iamy. By the Mes, ere theiſe eyes of mine take them-
ſelues to ſlomber, ayle de gud ſeruice, or Ile ligge i'th'

108 grund for it; ay, or goe to death: and Ile pay't as valourously as I may, that fal I fuerly do, that is the breff and the long: mary, I wad full faine heard some question tween you tway.

112 *Flu.* Captaine *Mackmorrice*, I thinke, looke you, vnder your correction, there is not many of your Nation—

Mac. Of my Nation? What is my Nation? [*Aloud.*] Is a Villaine, and a Bastard, and a Knaue, and a Rascall.—[*Aside.*]

116 What is my Nation? Who talkes of my Nation? [*Aloud.*

Flu. Looke you, if you take the matter otherwise then is meant, Captaine *Mackmorrice*, peradventure I shall thinke you doe not vse me with that affabilitie as in discretion you ought to vse me, looke you; being as good a man as your selfe, poth[†] in the disciplines of Warre, and in the deriuation of my Pirth,[†] and in other particularities.

Mac. I doe not know you so good a man as my selfe: 124 so Chrish saue me, I will cut off your Head.

Gower. Gentlemen both, you will mistake each other.

Iamy. A! that's a foule fault. [*A Parley sounded.*

Gower. The Towne sounds a Parley.

128 *Flu.* Captaine *Mackmorrice*, when there is more petter[†] oportunitie to be required, looke you, I will be so pold[†] as to tell you, I know the disciplines of Warre; and there is an end. [*Exeunt.*

The same.

III. iii.—*Some Citizens on the walls; the English Power below. Enter the KING and all his Traine before the Gates.*

K. Hen. How yet resolues the Gouvernour of the Towne? This is the latest Parle we will admit:

Therefore, to our best mercy giue your selues;

4 Or, like to men prowd of destruction,

Defie vs to our worst: for, as I am a Souldier,

—A Name that, in my thoughts, becomes me best,—

- If I begin the batt'rie once againe,
8 I will not leaue the halfe-atchieued Harflew,
Till in her ashes she lye buried.
The Gates of Mercy shall be all shut vp,
And the flesh'd Souldier, rough and hard of heart,
12 In libertie of bloody hand shall raunge,
With Conscience wide as Hell; mowing like Grassie
Your fresh faire Virgins, and your flowing Infants.
What is it then to me, if impious Warre,
16 Array'd in flames, like to the Prince of Fiends,
Doe, with his smyrcht complexion, all fell feats
Enlynckt to wast and defolation?
What is't to me, when you your selues are cause,
20 If your pure Maydens fall into the hand
Of hot and forcing Violation?
What Reyne can hold licentious Wickednesse,
When downe the Hill he holds his fierce Carriere?
24 We may as bootlesse spend our vaine Command
Vpon th'enraged Souldiers in their spoyle,
As send Precépts to the *Leuiathan*,
To come ashore. Therefore, you men of Harflew,
28 Take pittie of your Towne and of your People,
Whiles yet my Souldiers are in my Command;
Whiles yet the coole and temperate Wind of Grace
O're-blowes the filthy and contagious Clouds
32 Of heady† Murther, Spoyle, and Villany.
If not, why, in a moment, looke to see
The blind and bloody Souldier with foule hand
Defle† the Locks of your shrill-shrieking Daughters;
36 Your Fathers taken by the siluer Beards,
And their most reuerend Heads dasht to the Walls;
Your naked Infants spitted vpon Pykes;
Whiles the mad Mothers with their howles confus'd
40 Doe breake the Clouds, as did the Wiues of Iewry

At *Herods* bloody-hunting slaughter-men.
 What say you? Will you yeeld, and this auoyd,
 Or guiltie in defence, be thus destroy'd?

Enter the Gouvernour of Harflew.

- 44 *Gouer.* Our expectation hath this day an end:
 The Dolphin, whom of Succours we entreated,
 Returnes vs 'that his Powers are yet not ready
 To rayse so great a Siege.' Therefore, great King,
 48 We yeeld our Towne and Liues to thy soft Mercy:
 Enter our Gates; dispose of vs and ours;
 For we no longer are defensible.

- K. Hen.* Open your Gates. ¶ Come, Vnckle *Exeter*,
 52 Goe you and enter Harflew; there remaine,
 And fortifie it strongly 'gainst the French:
 Vse mercy to them all. For vs, deare Vnckle,—
 The Winter comming on, and Sicknesse growing
 56 Vpon our Souldiers,—we will retyre to Calis.
 To night in Harflew will we be your Guest;
 To morrow for the March are we addrest.

[*Flourish.* *The King and his Trainee enter the Towne.*

The FRENCH KING's Palace.

III. iv.—*Enter KATHERINE and ALICE, an old Gentlewoman.*

Kath. *Alice, tu as esté en Angleterre, & tu parles bien† le Language.*

Alice. *Un† peu, Madame.*

- 4 *Kath.* *Je te prie, m'enseignes; il faut que i'apprenne à parler.
 Comment appellez vous la† main en Anglois?*

Alice. *La main? elle est appelée† de Hand.*

Kath. *De Hand. Et les doigts?†*

- 8 *Alice.* *Les doigts? ma foy, i'oublie les doigts; mais ie me
 souviendray. Les doigts? ie pense qu'ils sont appelés de
 fingres; ouy,† de fingres.*

Kath. *La main, de Hand; les doigts, de Fingres. Je pense*
12 *que ie suis la bonne escholier; i'ay gagnée deux mots d'Anglois*
viflement. Comment appellez vous les † ongles ?

Alice. *Les ongles ? nous † les appellons de Nayles.*

Kath. *De Nayles. Escoutez; dites moy si ie parle bien :*
16 *de Hand, de Fingres, et † de Nayles.*

Alice. *C'est bien dict, Madame; il est † fort bon Anglois.*

Kath. *Dites moy l'Anglois pour le bras.*

Alice. *De Arme, Madame.*

20 Kath. *Et le coude ? †*

Alice. *De Elbow. †*

Kath. *De Elbow. Je m'en fay la repetition de tous les mots*
que vous m'avez apprise † des à présent.

24 Alice. *Il est † trop difficile, Madame, comme Je pense.*

Kath. *Excusez moy, Alice; escoutez : De Hand, de Fingre,*
de Nayles, de Arme, † de Bilbow.

Alice. *De Elbow, † Madame.*

28 Kath. *O Seigneur Dieu, ie m'en oublie ! De Elbow. Com-*
ment appellez † vous le col ?

Alice. *De Nick, Madame.*

Kath. *De Nick : Et † le menton ?*

32 Alice. *De Chin.*

Kath. *De Sin. Le col, de Nick; le menton, de Sin.*

Alice. *Ouy. Sauf vostre honneur, en verité, vous prononcez*
les mots aussi † droit que les Natifs d'Angleterre.

36 Kath. *Je ne doute point d'apprendre par la † grace de Dieu,*
et en peu de temps.

Alice. *N'avez vous pas déjà oublié ce que ie vous ay*
enseignée ? †

40 Kath. *Non, ie reciteray a vous promptement : de Hand, de*
Fingre, de Mayles—†

Alice. *De Nayles, Madame.*

Kath. *De Nayles, de Arme, de Ilbow.*

44 Alice. *Sauf vostre honneur, de Elbow. †*

Kath. *Ainsi dis ie ; de Elbow, de Nick, & de Sin. Comment appelez vous le pied & la robe ? †*

Alice. *De Foot, Madame ; & de † Count.*

48 *Kath.* *De Foot, & de Count ? O Seigneur Dieu ! ce sont des mots de son mauvais, corruptible, gros, & impudique, & non pour les Dames d'Honneur d'user : Je ne voudrois prononcer ces mots deuant les Seigneurs de France pour tout le monde. Foh ! le*
52 *Foot & le Count ! Neant-moins, Je reciteray une autre fois ma leçon ensemble : de Hand, de Fingre, de Nayles, de Arme, de Elbow, de Nick, de Sin, de Foot, de † Count.*

Alice. *Excellent, Madame !*

56 *Kath.* *C'est assez pour une fois ; allons nous à dîner. †*

[Exeunt.]

Rouen. The FRENCH KING's Palace.

III. V.—*Enter the KING OF FRANCE, the DOLPHIN, the CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, the DUKE OF BURBON, and others.*

Fr. King. 'Tis certaine he hath past the Riuer Some.

Const. And if he be not fought withall, my Lord,

Let vs not liue in France ; let vs quit all,

4 And giue our Vineyards to a barbarous People.

Dolph. *O Dieu viuant ! Shall a few Sprayes of vs,—*

The emptying of our Fathers Luxurie,

Our Syens, put in wilde and sauage Stock,—

8 Spirt vp so suddenly into the Clouds,

And ouer-looke their Grafters ?

Bur. Normans, but bastard Normans, Norman bastards !

Mort de † ma vie ! [and] if they march along

12 Vnfought withall—but I will sell my Dukedome,

To buy a flobbry and a durtie Farme

In that nooke-shotten Ile of Albion.

Const. *Dieu de Battailles !—where haue they this mettell ?*

16 Is not their Clymate foggy, raw, and dull ?

On whom, as in despight, the Sunne lookes pale,

Killing their Fruit with frownes ? Can sodden Water,

- A Drench for sur-reyn'd Iades, their Barly broth,
 20 Decoſt their cold blood to ſuch valiant heat ?
 And ſhall our quick blood, ſpirited with Wine,
 Seeme froſtie ? O, for honor of our Land,
 Let vs not hang like roping Iſyckles
 24 Vpon our Houſes Thatch, whiles a more froſtie People
 Sweat drops of gallant Youth in our rich fields ;
 Poore, we [may] call them, in their Natiue Lords.
Dolphin. By Faith and Honor,
 28 Our Madames mock at vs, and plainly ſay,
 ' Our Mettell is bred out, and they will giue
 Their bodies to the Luſt of Engliſh Youth,
 To new-ſtore France with Baſtard Warriors.'
 32 *Bur.* They bid vs 'to the Engliſh Dancing-Schools,
 And teach *Lauolta's* high, and ſwift *Carranto's* ;
 Saying, ' our Grace is onely in our Heeles,
 And that we are moſt loſtie Run-awayes.'
 36 *Fr. King.* Where is *Montioy*, the Herald ? ſpeed him hence ;
 Let him greet England with our ſharpe defiance.
 Vp, Princes ! and, with ſpirit of Honor edg'd,
 More ſharper then your Swords, high to the field :
 40 *Charles Delabreth*, High Conſtable of France,
 You Dukes of *Orleance*, *Burbon*, and of *Berry*,
Alanſon, *Brabant*, *Bar*, and *Burgonie*,
Iaquès Chattillion, *Rambures*, *Vaudémont*,†
 44 *Beumont*, *Grandpree*,† *Rouſſi*, and *Faulconbridge*,
Foys,† *Léſtrale*, *Bouciqualt*,† and *Charaloyes* ;
 High Dukes, great Princes, Barons, Lords, and Knights,†
 For your great Seats, now quit you of great ſhames ;
 48 Barre *Harry* England, that ſweepes through our Land
 With Penons painted in the blood of Harſlew :
 Ruſh on his Hoſt, as doth the melted Snow
 Vpon the Valleys, whoſe low Vaſſall Seat
 52 The Alpes doth ſpit, and void his rehwme vpon :

Goe downe vpon him,—you haue Power enough,—
And in a Captiue Chariot into Roan
Bring him our Prifoner.

Const.

This becomes the Great.

56 Sorry am I his numbers are fo few,
His Souldiers sick, and famisht in their March;
For, I am fure, when he shall see our Army,
Hee'le drop his heart into the finck of feare,
60 And, for atchieuement, offer vs his Ransome.

Fr. King. Therefore, Lord Constable, haft on *Montiroy*;
And let him say to England, that we fend
To know what willing Ransome he will giue.

64 ¶ Prince *Dolphin*, you shall stay with vs in Roan.

Dolph. Not so, I doe beseech your Maiestie.

Fr. King. Be patient, for you shall remaine with vs.

¶ Now, forth, Lord Constable, and Princes all,

68 And quickly bring vs word of Englands fall. [*Flourish. Exeunt.*]

The English camp in Picardy.

III. vi.—*Enter Captaines GOWER and FLUELLEN, meeting.*

Gower. How now, Captaine *Fluellen*! come you from
the Bridge?

Flu. I assure you, there is very excellent Seruices com-
4 mitted at the Pridge.†

Gower. Is the Duke of Exeter safe?

Flu. The Duke of Exeter is as magnanimous as *Agamemnon*; and a man that I loue and honour with my soule,
8 and my heart, and my dutie, and my life,† and my liuing, and
my vttermost power. He is not—God be prayed and pleifed!—†
any hurt in the 'orld,† but keepe the Pridge† most valiantly,
with excellent discipline. There is an aunchient Lieutenant
12 there at the Pridge, I thinke, in my very conscience, hee is as
valiant a man as *Marke Anthony*; and hee is a man of no esti-
mation in the 'orld;† but I did see him doe as gallant seruice—

Gower. What doe you call him ?

16 *Flu.* Hee is call'd aunchient *Pistoll*.

Gower. I know him not.

Enter PISTOLL.

Flu. Here is the man.

Pist. Captaine, I thee beseech to doe me fauours :

20 The Duke of Exeter doth loue thee well.

Flu. I, I prayse God, and I haue merited some loue at his hands.

Pist. *Bardolph*, a Souldier firme and sound of heart,

24 Of † buxome valour, hath,—by cruell Fate,
And giddie Fortunes furious fickle Wheele,
That Goddesse blind,

That stands vpon the rolling restlesse Stone,—

28 *Flu.* By your patience, aunchient *Pistoll*. Fortune is painted plinde,† with a Muffler afore her † eyes, to signifie to you, that Fortune is plinde; † and shee is painted also with a Wheele, to signifie to you, which is the Morall of
32 it, that shee is turning, and inconstant, and mutabilitie, and variation: and her foot, looke you, is fixed vpon a Sphericall Stone, which rowles, and rowles, and rowles: in good truth, the Poet makes a most excellent descripti-
36 on of it: Fortune is an excellent Morall.

Pist. Fortune is *Bardolphs* foe, and frownes on him;
For he hath stolne a Pax, and hanged must a be:
A damned death!

40 Let Gallowes gape for Dogge; let man goe free,
And let not Hempe his Wind-pipe suffocate:
But *Exeter* hath giuen the doome of death
For Pax of little price.

44 Therefore, goe speake; the Duke will heare thy voyce;
And let not *Bardolphs* vitall thred bee cut
With edge of Penny-Cord, and vile reproach.
Speake, Captaine, for his Life, and I will thee requite.

48 *Flu.* Aunchient *Pifoll*, I doe partly vnderftand your meaning.

Pift. Why then, reioyce therefore.

Flu. Certainly, Aunchient, it is not a thing to reioyce
52 at: for if, looke you, he were my Prother,† I would defire
the Duke to vse his good pleafure, and put him to execu-
tion; for difcipline ought to be vfed.

Pift. Dye and be dam'd! and *Figo* for thy friendship!

56 *Flu.* It is well.

Pift. The Figge of Spaine!

[*Erit.*

Flu. Very good.

Gower. Why, this is an arrant counterfeite Rascall; I
60 remember him now; a Bawd, a Cut-purfe.

Flu. Ile affure you, a vtt'ed as prauē 'ords† at the
Pridge as you fhall fee in a Summers day: but it is very
well; what he ha's fpoke to me, that is well, I warrant you,
64 when time is ferue.

Gower. Why, 'tis a Gull, a Foole, a Rogue, that now and
then goes to the Warres, to grace himfelfe, at his returne
into London, vnder the forme of a Souldier. And fuch
68 fellowes are perfitt in the Great Commanders Names, and
they will learne you by rote where Seruices were done;—at
fuch and fuch a Sconce, at fuch a Breach, at fuch a Conuoy;
who came off brauely, who was fhot, who difgrac'd, what
72 termes the Enemy ftood on;—and this they conne perfittly
in the phrafe of Warre, which they tricke vp with new-tuned
Oathes: and what a Beard of the Generalls Cut, and a horride
Sute of the Campe, will doe among foming Bottles and Ale-
76 wafht Wits, is wonderfull to be thought on. But you muft
learne to know fuch flanders of the age, or elfe you may be
maruelloufly miftooke.

Flu. I tell you what, Captaine *Gower*: I doe perceiue
80 hee is not the man that hee would gladly make fhew to
the 'orld† hee is: if I finde a hole in his Coat, I will tell

him my minde. [*Drum heard.*] Hearke you, the King is comming; and I must speake with him from the Pridge.

Enter the KING and his poore Souldiers, with Drum and Colours: GLOUCESTER, and others.

84 *Flu.* God pleffe your Maiestie!

K. Hen. How now, *Fluellen*! cam'st thou from the Bridge?

Flu. I, to please your Maiestie. The Duke of Exeter ha's very gallantly maintain'd the Pridge: the French is
88 gone off, looke you; and there is gallant and most prau
passages: marry, th'athuerfarie was haue possession of
the Pridge; but he is enforced to retyre, and the Duke of
Exeter is Master of the Pridge: I can tell your Maiestie,
92 the Duke is a prau man.

K. Hen. What men haue you lost, *Fluellen*?

Flu. The perdition of th'athuerfarie hath beene very great,
reasonnable great: inarry, for my part, I thinke the Duke hath
96 lost neuer a man, but one that is like to be executed for
robbing a Church, one *Bardolph*, if your Maiestie know the
man: his face is all pupukles,† and whelkes, and knobs, and
flames a fire; and his lippes plowes† at his nose, and it is
100 like a coale of fire, sometimes plew, and sometimes red;
but his nose is executed, and his fire's out.

K. Hen. Wee would haue all such offenders so cut off:
and we giue expresse charge, that in our Marches through
104 the Countrey, there be nothing compell'd from the Villages;
nothing taken but pay'd for; none of the French vpbayded
or abused in disdaineiful Language; for when Lenitie† and
Crueltie play for a Kingdome, the gentler Gamester is the
108 soonest winner.

Tucket. Enter MOUNTIOY.

Mountioy. You know me by my habit.

K. Hen. Well then, I know thee: what shall I know of thee?

Mountioy. My Masters mind.

112 *K. Hen.* Vnfold it.

Mountioy. Thus sayes my King: 'Say thou to *Harry* of England: Though we seem'd dead, we did but sleepe: Advantage is a better Souldier then rashnesse. Tell him,
116 wee could haue rebuk'd him at Harflewe, but that wee thought not good to bruise an iniurie till it were full ripe: Now wee speake vpon our kue,[†] and our voyce is imperiall: England shall repent his folly, see his weakenesse, and admire
120 our sufferance. Bid him, therefore, consider of his ransome, which must proportion the losses we haue borne, the subiects we haue lost, the disgrace we haue digested; which, in weight to re-answer, his pettinesse would bow vnder. For our losses,
124 his Exchequer is too poore; for th' effusion of our blood, the Muster of his Kingdome too faint a number; and for our disgrace, his owne person kneeling at our feet, but a weake and worthlesse satisfaction. To this adde defiance: and tell
128 him, for conclusion, he hath betrayed his followers, whose condemnation is pronounc't.' So farre my King and Master; so much my Office.

K. Hen. What is thy name? I know thy qualitie.

132 *Mount. Mountioy.*

K. Hen. Thou doo'st thy Office fairely. Turne thee back,
And tell thy King, 'I doe not seeke him now,
But could be willing to march on to Callice
136 Without impeachment:' for, to say the sooth,
—Though 'tis no wisdome to confesse so much
Vnto an enemye of Craft and Vantage,—
My people are with sicknesse much enfeebled;
140 My numbers lessen'd; and those few I haue,
Almost no better then so many French;
Who, when they were in health, I tell thee, Herald,
I thought, vpon one payre of English Legges
144 Did march three Frenchmen.—Yet, forgiue me, God,
That I doe bragge thus! this your ayre of France

Hath blowne that vice in me; I must repent.—
Goe, therefore, tell thy Master, 'heere I am;
148 My Ranfome is this frayle and worthleffe Trunke;
My Army but a weake and sickly Guard:
Yet, God before, tell him we will come on,
Though France himfelfe, and fuch another Neighbor,
152 Stand in our way.' There's for thy labour, *Mountioy*.
[*Gives him a Purse.*

Goe, bid thy Master well aduife himfelfe:
'If we may paffe, we will; if we be hindred,
We shall your tawnie ground with your red blood
156 Difcolour:' and fo, *Mountioy*, fare you well.
The fumme of all our Anfwer is but this:
'We would not feeke a Battaile as we are;
Nor as we are, we fay, we will not fhun it:'
160 So tell your Master.

Mount. I shall deliuer fo. Thankes to your Highneffe.

[*Exit.*

Glouc. I hope they will not come vpon vs now.

K. Hen. We are in Gods hand, Brother, not in theirs.

164 March to the Bridge; it now drawes toward night:
Beyond the Riuer wee'le encampe our felues;
And on to morrow bid them march away.

[*Exeunt. Drum beating.*

The French camp, near Agincourt.

III. vii.—*Enter the CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, the LORD
RAMEURS, ORLEANCE, the DOLPHIN, with others.*

Const. Tut! I haue the best Armour of the World. Would
it were day!

Orleance. You haue an excellent Armour; but let my
4 Horfe haue his due.

Const. It is the best Horfe of Europe.

Orleance. Will it neuer be Morning?

Dolph. My Lord of Orleance, and my Lord High Constable, you talke of Horfe and Armour—

Orleance. You are as well prouided of both as any Prince in the World.

Dolph. What a long Night is this! I will not change
12 my Horfe with any that treades but on foure pasternes.†
ça, ha!† he bounds from the Earth as if his entrayles were
hayres; *le Cheual volant*,† the Pegafus, *chez † les narines de*
feu! When I bestryde him, I soare, I am a Hawke: he trots
16 the ayre; the Earth sings when he touches it; the basest
horne of his hoofe is more Musicall then the Pipe of *Hermes*.

Orleance. Hee's of the colour of the Nutmeg.

Dolph. And of the heat of the Ginger. It is a Beast for
20 *Perfeus*: hee is pure Ayre and Fire; and the dull Elements
of Earth and Water neuer appeare in him, but only in patient
stillnesse while his Rider mounts him: hee is, indeede, a Horfe,
and all other Iades you may call Beasts.

24 *Const.* Indeed, my Lord, it is a most absolute and excellent Horfe.

Dolph. It is the Prince of Palfrayes; his Neigh is like
the bidding of a Monarch, and his countenance enforces
28 Homage.

Orleance. No more, Cousin.

Dolph. Nay, the man hath no wit, that cannot, from
the rising of the Larke to the lodging of the Iambe,
32 varie deserued prayse on my Palfray: it is a Theame as
fluent as the Sea: Turne the Sands into eloquent tongues,
and my Horfe is argument for them all: 'tis a subiect for a
Soueraigne to reason on, and for a Soueraignes Soueraigne
36 to ride on; And for the World—familiar to vs, and
vnknowne—to lay apart their particular Functions, and wonder
at him. I once writ a Sonnet in his prayse, and began thus:
'*Wonder of Nature*'—

40 *Orleance.* I haue heard a Sonnet begin so to ones Mistresse.

Dolph. Then did they imitate that which I compos'd
to my Courser; for my Horse is my Mistressse.

Orlance. Your Mistressse beares well.

44 *Dolph.* Me well; which is the prescript prayse and perfection of a good and particular Mistressse.

Const. Nay, for me thought, yesterday, your Mistressse shrewdly shooke your back.

48 *Dolph.* So, perhaps, did yours.

Const. Mine was not bridled.

Dolph. O! then belike she was old and gentle, and you rode, like a Kerne of Ireland, your French Horse off, and in
52 your strait Stroffers.

Const. You haue good iudgement in Horsemanship.

Dolph. Be warn'd by me, then: they that ride so, and ride not warily, fall into foule Boggs: I had rather haue
56 my Horse to my Mistressse.

Const. I had as liue haue my Mistressse a Iade.

Dolph. I tell thee, Constable, my Mistressse weares his owne hayre.

60 *Const.* I could make as true a boast as that, if I had a Sow to my Mistressse.

Dolph. '*Le chien est retourné à son propre vomissement, et la truie † laulé au boubier:*' thou mak'st vse of any thing.

64 *Const.* Yet doe I not vse my Horse for my Mistressse, or any such Prouerbe, so little kin to the purpose.

Ramb. My Lord Constable, the Armour that I saw in your Tent to night, are those Starres, or Sunnes, vpon it?

68 *Const.* Starres, my Lord.

Dolph. Some of them will fall to morrow, I hope.

Const. And yet my Sky shall not want.

Dolph. That may be, for you beare a many superfluously,
72 and 'twere more honor some were away.

Const. Eu'n as your Horse beares your prayes; who would trot as well, were some of your bragges dismounted.

Dolph. Would I were able to loade him with his desert!—
76 Will it neuer be day?—I will trot to morrow a mile, and
my way shall be paued with English Faces.

Const. I will not say so, for feare I should be fac't out
of my way: but I would it were morning, for I would
80 faine be about the eares of the English.

Ramb. Who will goe to Hazard with me for twentie
Prifoners?

Const. You must first goe your selfe to hazard, ere you
84 haue them.

Dolph. 'Tis Mid-night; Ile goe arme my selfe. [*Exit.*

Orleanse. The Dolphin longs for morning.

Ramb. He longs to eate the English.

88 *Const.* I thinke he will eate all he kills.

Orleanse. By the white Hand of my Lady, hee's a gal-
lant Prince.

Const. Swear by her Foot, that she may tread out the
92 Oath.

Orleanse. He is, simply, the most actiue Gentleman of
France.

Const. Doing is actiuitie, and he will still be doing.

96 *Orleanse.* He neuer did harme, that I heard of.

Const. Nor will doe none to morrow: hee will keepe
that good name still.

Orleanse. I know him to be valiant.

100 *Const.* I was told that by one that knowes him better
then you.

Orleanse. What's hee?

Const. Marry, hee told me so'himselfe; and hee sayd 'hee
104 car'd not who knew it.'

Orleanse. Hee needes not; it is no hidden vertue in him.

Const. By my faith, Sir, but it is; neuer any body saw
it but his Lacquey: 'tis a hooded valour; and when it
108 appeares, it will bate.

Orleance. 'Ill will neuer sayd well.'

Const. I will cap that Prouerbe with 'There is flatterie in friendship.'

112 *Orleance.* And I will take vp that with 'Giue the Deuill his due.'

Const. Well plac't: there stands your friend for the Deuill: haue at the very eye of that Prouerbe with 'A Fox of the
116 Deuill.'

Orleance. You are the better at Prouerbs, by how much 'A Fooles Bolt is soone shot.'

Const. You haue shot ouer.

120 *Orleance.* 'Tis not the first time you were ouer-shot.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My Lord high Constable, the English lye within fifteene hundred paces of your Tents.

Const. Who hath measur'd the ground?

124 *Mess.* The Lord *Grandpree*.

Const. A valiant and most expert Gentleman.—Would it were day!—Alas, poore *Harry* of England! hee longs not for the Dawning as wees doe.

128 *Orleance.* What a wretched and peeuishe fellow is this King of England, to mope with his fat-brain'd followers so farre out of his knowledge!

Const. If the English had any apprehension, they would
132 runne away.

Orleance. That they lack; for if their heads had any intellectuall Armour, they could neuer weare such heauie Head-pieces.

136 *Ramb.* That Iland of England breedes very valiant Creatures; their Mastiffes are of vnmatchable courage.

Orleance. Foolish Curres, that runne winking into the mouth of a Ruffian Beare, and haue their heads crusht
140 like rotten Apples! you may as well say, that's a valiant

Flea that dare eate his breakefast on the Lippe of a Lyon.

Const. Iust, iust; and the men doe sympathize with the
144 Mastiffes in robustious and rough comming on, leauing their
Wits with their Wiues: and then giue them great Meales of
Beefe, and Iron and Steele, they will eate like Wolues, and
fight like Deuils.

148 *Orleance.* I, but these English are shrowdly out of Beefe.

Const. Then shall we finde to morrow, they haue only
stomackes to eate and none to fight. Now is it time to
arme: come, shall we about it?

152 *Orleance.* It is now two a Clock: but, let me see:—by ten
Wee shall haue each a hundred English men. [*Exeunt.*]

ACT IV.

Enter Chorus.

Now entertaine coniecture of a time,
When creeping Murmure, and the poring Darke,
Fills the wide Vessell of the Vniuerse.

4 From Camp to Camp, through the foule Womb of Night,
The Humme of eyther Army stilly sounds,
That the fixt Centinels almost receiue
The secret Whispers of each others Watch.

8 Fire answers fire; and through their paly flames
Each Battaile sees the others vंबर'd face.
Steed threatens Steed, in high and boastfull Neighs
Piercing the Nights dull Eare; and from the Tents,

12 The Armourers, accomplishing the Knights,
With busie Hammers closing Riucts vp,
Giue dreadfull note of preparation.

- The Countrey Cocks doe crow, the Clocks doe towle :
16 And, the third howre of drowfie Morning nam'd,
Prowd of their Numbers, and secure in Soule,
The confident and ouer-lustie French
Doe the low-rated English play at Dice ;
20 And chide the creeple-tardy-gated Night,
Who, like a foule and ougly Witch, doth limpe
So tediously away. The poore condemned English,
Like Sacrifices, by their watchfull Fires
24 Sit patiently, and inly ruminat
The Mornings danger ; and their gesture sad,
Inuesting lanke-lean Cheekes, and Warre-worne Coats,
Presenteth † them vnto the gazing Moone
28 So many horride Ghosts. O, now, who will behold
The Royall Captaine of this ruin'd Band,
Walking from Watch to Watch, from Tent to Tent,
Let him cry ' Prayse and Glory on his head ! '
32 For forth he goes, and visits all his Hoast ;
Bids them good morrow with a modest Smyle ;
And calls them ' Brothers, Friends, and Countreymen.'
Vpon his Royall Face there is no note
36 How dread an Army hath enrounded him ;
Nor doth he dedicate one iot of Colour
Vnto the wearie and all-watched Night ;
But freshly lookes, and ouer-beares Attaint
40 With chearefull semblance and sweet Maiestie ;
That euery Wretch, pining and pale before,
Beholding him, plucks comfort from his Lookes :
A Largeesse vniuerfall, like the Sunne,
44 His liberall Eye doth giue to euery one,
Thawing cold feare, that meane and gentle all
* * * * *
Behold,—as may vnworthinesse define,—
A little touch of *Harry* in the Night ;

- 48 And so our Scene must to the Battaille flye :
Where, —O for pittie!— we shall much disgrace—
With foure or fve most vile and ragged foyles,
Right ill dispos'd, in brawle ridiculous—
52 The Name of Agincourt. Yet, fit and fee;
Minding true things by what their Mock'ries bee. [Exit.

The English camp at Agincourt.

IV. i.—Enter the KING, and GLOUCESTER.

K. Hen. Gloster, 'tis true that we are in great danger;
The greater therefore should our Courage be.

[Enter Bedford.]

- ¶ Go[o]d morrow, Brother *Bedford*. ¶ God Almightye !
4 There is some foule of goodnesse in things euill,
Would men obseruingly distill it out :
For our bad Neighbour makes vs early ftrrers,
Which is both healthfull, and good husbandry.
8 Besides, they are our outward Consciences,
And Preachers to vs all ; admonishing
That we should dresse vs fairely for our end.
Thus may we gather Honey from the Weed,
12 And make a Morall of the Diuell himselfe.

Enter ERPINGHAM.

- Good morrow, old Sir *Thomas Erpingham* :
A good soft Pillow for that good white Head,
Were better then a churlish turfe of France.
16 *Erping.* Not so, my Liege, this Lodging likes me better,
Since I may say, ' Now lye I like a King.'
K. Hen. 'Tis good for men to loue their present paines,
Vpon example; so the Spirit is eased :
20 And, when the Mind is quickned, out of doubt,
The Organs, though defunct and dead before,
Breake vp their drowfie Graue, and newly moue

With casted slough and fresh legeritie.

- 24 ¶ Lend me thy Cloake, Sir *Thomas*. ¶ Brothers both,
Commend me to the Princes in our Campe;
Doe my good morrow to them; and, anon
Desire them all to my Pauillion.

- 28 *Gloster*. We shall, my Liege.

Erping. Shall I attend your Grace?

K. Hen.

No, my good Knight;

Goe with my Brothers to my Lords of England:

I and my Bosome must debate a while,

- 32 And then I would no other company.

Erping. The Lord in Heauen bleſſe thee, Noble *Harry*.

[*Exeunt. Manet KING.*]

K. Hen. God a mercy, old Heart! thou speak'st chearefully.

Enter PISTOLL.

Pist. *Qui va là ?* †

- 36 *K. Hen*. A friend.

Pist. Discusse vnto me; art thou Officer!

Or art thou base, common, and popular?

K. Hen. I am a Gentleman of a Company.

- 40 *Pist*. Trayl'st thou the puissant Pyke?

K. Hen. Euen so: what are you?

Pist. As good a Gentleman as the Emperor.

K. Hen. Then you are a better then the King.

- 44 *Pist*. The King's a Bawcock, and a Heart of Gold,

A Lad of Life, an Impe of Fame,

Of Parents good, of Fift most valiant:

I kisse his durtie shooe, and from heartstring

- 48 I loue the louely Bully. What's † thy Name?

K. Hen. *Harry le Roy*.

Pist. *Le Roy!* a Cornish Name: art thou of Cornish Crew?

K. Hen. No, I am a Welchman.

- 52 *Pist*. Know'st thou *Fluellen*?

K. Hen. Yes.

Pif. Tell him, Ile knock his Leeke about his Pate,
Vpon S. *Dauies* day.

56 *K. Hen.* Doe not you weare your Dagger in your Cappe
that day, leaft he knock that about yours.

Pif. Art thou his friend?

K. Hen. And his Kinfman too.

60 *Pif.* The *Figo* for thee, then! [Turns to go.

K. Hen. I thanke you: God be with you!

Pif. My name is *Pifol* call'd. [Exit.

K. Hen. It forts well with your fierceneffe.

Enter FLUELLEN and GOWER.

64 *Gower.* Captaine *Fluellen*!

Flu. 'So! in the Name of Cheshu † Chrift, ſpeake lower. † It
is the greateſt admiration in the vniuerſall 'orld, † when
the true and aunchient Prerogatifes and Lawes of the
68 Warres is not kept: if you would take the paines but to
examine the Warres of *Pompey* the Great, you ſhall finde,
I warrant you, that there is no tiddle tadle, nor pibble pable, †
in *Pompeyes* Campe: I warrant you, you ſhall finde the
72 Ceremonies of the Warres, and the Cares of it, and the
Formes of it, and the Sobrietie of it, and the Modeſtie of
it, to be otherwiſe.

Gower. Why, the Enemie is lowd; you heare him all Night.

76 *Flu.* If the Enemie is an Affe, and a Foole, and a prating
Coxcombe, is it meet, thinke you, that wee ſhould alſo, looke
you, be an Affe and a Foole, and a prating Coxcombe; in
your owne conſcience, now?

80 *Gow.* I will ſpeake lower.

Flu. I pray you, and peſeech † you, that you will.

[Exit GOWER and FLUELLEN.

K. Hen. Though it appears a little out of faſhion,
There is much care and valour in this Welchman.

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*Enter three Souldiers, IOHN BATES, ALEXANDER COURT,
and MICHAEL WILLIAMS.*

84 *Court.* Brother *John Bates*, is not that the Morning
which breakes yonder ?

Bates. I thinke it be : but wee haue no great cause to
defire the approach of day.

88 *Williams.* Wee see yonder the beginning of the day,
but, I thinke, wee shall neuer see the end of it. ¶ Who goes
there ?

K. Hen. A Friend.

92 *Williams.* Vnder what Captaine serue you ?

K. Hen. Vnder Sir *Thomas† Erpingham.*

Williams. A good old Commander, and a most kinde
Gentleman : I pray you, what thinkes he of our estate ?

96 *K. Hen.* Euen as men wrackt vpon a Sand, that looke to
be waht off the next Tyde.

Bates. He hath not told his thought to the King ?

K. Hen. No ; nor it is not meet he should. For, though I
100 speake it to you, I thinke the King is but a man, as I am :
the Violet smells to him as it doth to me ; the Element
shewes to him as it doth to me ; all his Sences haue but
humane Conditions : his Ceremonies layd by, in his Naked-
104 nesse he appeares but a man ; and though his affections
are higher mounted then ours, yet, when they stoupe, they
stoupe with the like wing : therefore, when he sees reason
of feares, as we doe, his feares, out of doubt, be of the
108 same rellish as ours are : yet, in reason, no man should possesse
him with any appearance of feare, least hee, by shewing it,
should dis-hearten his Army.

Bates. He may shew what outward courage he will ;
112 but, I beleeeue, as cold a Night as 'tis, hee could with him-
selfe in Thames vp to the Neck ; and so I would he were,
and I by him, at all aduentures, so we were quit here.

K. Hen. By my troth, I will speake my conscience of tue

116 King: I thinke hee would not wish himselfe any where
but where hee is.

Bates. Then I would he were here alone; so should he be
fure to be ranfomed, and a many poore mens liues faued.

120 *K. Hen.* I dare say, you loue him not so ill, to wish him here
alone, howsoeuer you speake this to feele other mens minds: me
thinks, I could not dye any where so contented as in the Kings
company; his Cause being iust, and his Quarrell honorable.

124 *Williams.* That's more then we know.

Bates. I, or more then wee should seeke after; for wee
know enough, if wee know wee are the Kings Subiects:
if his Cause be wrong, our obedience to the King wipes
128 the Cryme of it out of vs.

Williams. But if the Cause be not good, the King him-
selfe hath a heauie Reckoning to make, when all those
Legges, and Armes, and Heads, chopt off in a Battaile,
132 shall ioyne together at the latter day, and cry all, 'Wee
dyled at such a place; some, swearing; some, crying for a
Surgean; some, vpon their Wiues left poore behind them;
some, vpon the Debts they owe; some, vpon their Children
136 rawly left.' I am afear'd there are few dye well that dye
in a Battaile; for how can they charitably dispose of any
thing, when Blood is their argument? Now, if these men
doe not dye well, it will be a black matter for the King
140 that led them to it; who to disobey were against all pro-
portion of subiection.

K. Hen. So, if a Sonne, that is by his Father sent about
Merchandize, doe sinfully miscarry vpon the Sea, the im-
144 putation of his wickednesse, by your rule, should be imposed
vpon his Father that sent him: or if a Seruant, vnder
his Masters command, transporting a summe of Money,
be assayled by Robbers, and dye in many irreconcil'd
148 Iniquities, you may call the businesse of the Master the
author of the Seruants damnation: but this is not so:

The King is not bound to answer the particular endings of his Souldiers, the Father of his Sonne, nor the Master of his
152 Seruant; for they purpose not their death, when they purpose their seruices. Besides, there is no King, be his Cause neuer so spotlesse, if it come to the arbitrement of Swords, can trye it out with all vnspotted Souldiers: some, peraduenture,
156 haue on them the guilt of premeditated and contriued Murther; some, of beguiling Virgins with the broken Seales of Periuirie; some, making the Warres their Bulwarke, that haue before gored the gentle Bosome of Peace with Pillage and Robberie.
160 Now, if these men haue defeated the Law, and out-runne Nature punishment, though they can out-strip men, they haue no wings to flye from God. Warre is his Beadle, Warre is his Vengeance; so that here men are punished, for before
164 breach of the Kings Lawes, in now the Kings Quarrell: where they feared the death, they haue borne life away; and where they would bee safe, they perish: Then if they dye vnprovidd, no more is the King guiltie of their damnation,
168 then hee was before guiltie of those Impieties for the which they are now visited. Euery Subjects Dutie is the Kings, but euery Subjects Soule is his owne. Therefore should euery Souldier in the Warres doe as euery sicke man in his Bed,
172 wash euery Moth out of his Conscience: and dying so, Death is to him aduantage; or not dying, the time was blessedly lost, wherein such preparation was gayned: and, in him that escapes, it were not sinne to thinke, that making God so free
176 an offer, he let him out-lie that day to see his Greatnesse, and to teach others how they should prepare.

Will. 'Tis certaine, euery man that dyes ill, the ill vpon his owne head, the King is not to answer it.

180 *Bates.* I doe not desire hee should answer for me; and yet I determine to fight lustily for him.

K. Hen. I my selfe heard the King say he would not be ransom'd.

184 *Will.* I, hee said so, to make vs fight chearefully: but,
when our throats are cut, hee may be ransom'd, and wee
ne're the wiser.

K. Hen. If I liue to see it, I will neuer trust his word
188 after.

Will. You pay him then! That's a perillous shot out
of an Elder Gunne, that a poore and a priuate displeasure
can doe against a Monarch! you may as well goe about
192 to turne the Sunne to yce with fanning in his face with a
Peacocks feather. You'le neuer trust his word after! come,
'tis a foolish saying.

K. Hen. Your reproofe is something too round: I should
196 be angry with you, if the time were conuenient.

Will. Let it bee a Quarrell betweene vs, if you liue.

K. Hen. I embrace it.

Will. How shall I know thee againe?

200 *K. Hen.* Giue me any Gage of thine, and I will weare it
in my Bonnet: Then, if euer thou dar'ft acknowledge it,
I will make it my Quarrell.

Will. Heere's my Gloue: Giue mee another of thine.

204 *K. Hen.* There!

Will. This will I also weare in my Cap: if euer thou
come to me and say, after to morrow, 'This is my Gloue,'
by this Hand, I will take thee a box on the eare.

208 *K. Hen.* If euer I liue to see it, I will challenge it.

Will. Thou dar'ft as well be hang'd.

K. Hen. Well, I will doe it, though I take thee in the
Kings companie.

212 *Will.* Keepe thy word: fare thee well.

Bates. Be friends, you English fooles, be friends; wee haue
French Quarrels enow, if you could tell how to reckon.

K. Hen. Indeepe, the French may lay twentie French
216 Crownes to one, they will beat vs, for they beare them
on their shoulders: but it is no English Treason to cut

French Crownes; and, to morrow, the King himselfe will
be a Clipper. [Exeunt Souldiers.]

220 Vpon the King!—let vs our Liues, our Soules,
Our Debts, our carefull Wiues,
Our Children, and our Sinnes, lay on the King:—
We must beare all.

224 O hard Condition! Twin-borne with Greatnesse,
Subiect to the breath of euery foole, whose fence
No more can feelee, but his owne wringing!
What infinite hearts-ease must Kings neglect,

228 That priuate men enioy!
And what haue Kings, that Priuates haue not too,
Saue Ceremonie, faue generall Ceremonie?
And what art thou, thou Idoll Ceremonie?

232 What kind of God art thou, that suffer'st more
Of mortall griefes then doe thy worshippers?
What are thy Rents? what are thy Commings in?
O Ceremonie, shew me but thy worth!

236 What is thy Soule of Adoration?†
Art thou ought else but Place, Degree, and Forme,
Creating awe and feare in other men?
Wherein thou art lesse happy, being fear'd,

240 Then they in fearing.
What drink'st thou oft, in stead of Homage sweet,
But poyson'd flatterie? O, be sick, great Greatnesse,
And bid thy Ceremonie giue thee cure!

244 Think'st thou the fierie Feuer will goe out
With Titles blowne from Adulation?
Will it giue place to flexure and low bending?
Canst thou, when thou command'st the beggers knee,

248 Command the health of it? No, thou prowd Dreame,
That play'st so subtilly with a Kings Repose;
I am a King that find thee; and I know,
'Tis not the Balme, the Scepter, and the Ball,

- 252 The Sword, the Mase, the Crowne Imperiall,
The enter-tissu'd Robe of Gold and Pearle,
The farfed Title running 'fore the King,
The Throne he fits on, nor the Tyde of Pompe
256 That beates vpon the high shore of this World:
No, not all these, thrice-gorgeous Ceremonie,
Not all these, lay'd in Bed Maiesticall,
Can sleepe so soundly as the wretched Slaue,
260 Who, with a body fill'd, and vacant mind,
Gets him to rest, cram'd with distressefull bread;
Neuer sees horride Night, the Child of Hell,
But, like a Lacquey, from the Rise to Set,
264 Sweates in the eye of *Phebus*, and all Night
Sleepes in *Elizium*; next day, after dawne,
Doth rise and helpe *Hiperio*[n] to his Horse,
And followes so the euer-running yeere,
268 With profitable labour, to his Graue:
And, but for Ceremonie, such a Wretch,
Winding vp Dayes with toyle and Nights with sleepe,
Had the fore-hand and vantage of a King.
272 The Slaue, a Member of the Countreyes peace,
Enioyes it; but in grosse braine little wots,
What watch the King keepes to maintaine the peace;
Whose howres the Pefant best aduantages.

Enter ERPINGHAM.

- 276 *Erp.* My Lord, your Noodles, iealous of your absence,
Seeke through your Campe to find you.
K. Hen. Good old Knight,
Collect them all together at my Tent:
Ile be before thee.
Erp. I shall doo't, my Lord. [Exit.
280 *K. Hen.* O God of Battailles! steele my Souldiers hearts!
Possesse them not with feare! Take from them now

The fence of reckning, if † th'opposed numbers
Pluck their hearts from them! Not to day, O Lord,
284 O not to day, thinke not vpon the fault
My Father made in compassing the Crowne!
I *Richards* body haue interred new;
And on it haue beftow'd more contrite teares,
288 Then from it iffu'd forced drops of blood.
Fiue hundred poore I haue in yeerely pay,
Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold vp
Toward Heauen, to pardon blood; and I haue built
292 Two Chauntries, where the sad and folemne Priests
Sing still for *Richards* Soule. More will I do;
Though all that I can doe is nothing worth,
Since that my Penitence comes after all,
296 Imploring pardon.

Gloucester, *without.*

Glouc. My Liege!

K. Hen. My brother *Gloucesters* voyce?—I;
I know thy errand, I will goe with thee:—
The day, my friend[s], and all things stay for me. [Exit.

IV. ii.—*The French camp.*

Enter the DOLPHIN, ORLEANCE, RAMBURS, and BEAUMONT.

Orleance. The Sunne doth gild our Armour; vp, my
Lords!

Dolph. Montez à † Cheual! ¶ My Horfe! Varlet! † Lacquay!
Ha!

Orleance. Oh braue Spirit!

4 *Dolph.* Va! les eaux et la † terre—

Orleance. Rien puis? l'air et le † feu—

Dolph. Ciel, † Coufin *Orleance.*

[Enter CONSTABLE.] ¶ Now, my Lord Conftable!

8 *Const.* Hearke, how our Steedes for present Service neigh!

Dolph. Mount them, and make incision in their Hides;

 That their hot blood may spin in English eyes,

 And dout † them with superfluous courage: ha!

12 *Ram.* What, will you haue them weep our Horses blood?

 How shall we then behold their naturall teares?

Enter Messenger.

Messenger. The English are embattail'd, you French Peeres.

Const. To Horse, you gallant Princes! straight to Horse!

16 Doe but behold yond poore and starued Band,

 And your faire shew shall suck away their Soules,

 Leauing them but the shales and huskes of men.

 There is not worke enough for all our hands;

20 Scarce blood enough in all their fickle Veines,

 To giue each naked Curtleax a stayne,

 That our French Gallants shall to day draw out,

 And sheath for lack of sport. Let vs but blow on them,

24 The vapour of our Valour will o're-terne them.

 'Tis positieue † gainst † all exceptions, Lords,

 That our superfluous Lacquies, and our Pesants,—

 Who, in vnnecessarie action, swarme

28 About our Squares of Battaile,—were enow

 To purge this field of such a hilding Foe,

 Though we vpon this Mountaines Basis by,

 Tooke stand for idle speculation:

32 But that our Honours must not. What's to say?

 A very little little let vs doe,

 And all is done. Then let the Trumpets sound

 The Tucket Sonaunce, † and the Note to mount:

36 For our approach shall so much dare the field,

 That England shall couch downe in feare, and yeeld.

Enter GRAUNDPREE.

- Grandpree.* Why do you stay so long, my Lords of France?
Yond Iland Carrions, desperate of their bones,
40 Ill-fauor'dly become the Morning field:
Their ragged Curtaines poorely are let loose,
And our Ayre shakes them passing scornefully;
Bigge *Mars* seemes banqu'rout in their begger'd Hoast,
44 And faintly through a rustie Beuer peepes;
The Horsfemen fit like fixed Candlesticks,
With Torch-staues in their hand; and their poore Iades
Lob downe their heads, dropping the hides and hips,
48 The gumme downe roping from their pale-dead eyes,
And in their pale dull mouthes the Iymold Bitt
Lyes foule with chaw'd-grasse, still and motionlesse:
And their executors, the knauish Crowes,
52 Flye o're them, all impatient † for their howre.
Description cannot sute it selfe in words,
To demonstrate the Life of such a Battaile,
In life so liuelesse as it shewes it selfe.
56 *Const.* They haue said their prayrs, and they stay for death.
Dolph. Shall we goe send them Dinners, and fresh Sutes,
And giue their fasting Horses Prouender,
And after fight with them?
60 *Const.* I stay but for my Guidon.†—To the field!
I will the Banner from a Trumpet take,
And vse it for my haste. Come, come away!
The Sunne is high, and we out-weare the day. [Exeunt.]

IV. iii.—*Before the English camp.*

Enter GLOUCESTER, BEDFORD, and EXETER: ERPINGHAM,
with all his Hoast: SALISBURY, and WESTMERLAND.

Glouc. Where is the King?

Bedf. The King himselfe is rode to view their Battaile.

Wes. Of fighting men they haue full threescore thousand.

4 *Ere.* There's five to one; besides they all are fresh.

Salisb. Gods Arme strike with vs! 'tis a fearefull oddes.

God buy' you, Princes all; Ile to my Charge:

If we no more meet till we meet in Heauen,

8 Then, ioyfully, my Noble Lord of Bedford,

¶ My deare Lord Gloucester, ¶ and my good Lord Exeter,

¶ And my kind Kinsman, Warriors all, adieu!

Bedf. Farwell, good *Salisbury*, & good luck go with thee!

12 *Ere.* Farwell, kind Lord; fight valiantly to day:

And yet I doe thee wrong to mind thee of it,

For thou art fram'd of the firme truth of valour. [*Exit Sal.*]

Bedf. He is as full of Valour as of Kindnesse;

Princely in both.

Enter the KING.

16 *Wes.* O that we now had here

But one ten thousand of those men in England,

That doe no worke to day!

K. Hen.

What's he that wishes so?

My Cousin *Westmerland*? No, my faire Cousin:

20 If we are markt to dye, we are enow

To doe our Countrey losse; and if to liue,

The fewer men, the greater share of honour.

Gods will! I pray thee, with not one man more.

24 By *Ioue*, I am not couetous for Gold,

Nor care I who doth feed vpon my cost;

It yernes me not if men my Garments weare;

Such outward things dwell not in my desires:

28 But if it be a sinne to couet Honor,

I am the most offending Soule aliue.

No, 'faith, my Couze, with not a man from England:

Gods peace! I would not loose so great an Honor,

32 As one man more, me thinkes, would share from me,

- For the best hope I haue. O, doe not with one more!
Rather proclaime it, *Westmerland*, through my Hoast,
That he which hath no stomack to this fight,
36 Let him depart; his Pasport shall be made,
And Crownes for Conuoy put into his Purse:
We would not dye in that mans companie,
That feares his fellowship to dye with vs.
40 This day is call'd the Feast of *Crispian*:
He that out-liues this day, and comes safe home,
Will stand a tip-toe when this day is nam'd,
And rowse him at the Name of *Crispian*.
44 He that shall liue this day, and see † old age,
Will yeerely on the Vigil feast his neighbours,
And say, 'To morrow is Saint *Crispian*':
Then will he strip his sleeue, and shew his skarres,
48 [And say, 'These wounds I had on Crispines day.']
Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot,
But hee'le remember, with aduantages,
What feats he did that day. Then shall our Names,
52 Familiar in his mouth as household words,—
Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,—
Be in their flowing Cups freshly remembered.
56 This story shall the good man teach his sonne;
And *Crispine Crispian* shall ne're goe by,
From this day to the ending of the World,
But we in it shall be rememb[e]red;
60 We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he to day that sheds his blood with me,
Shall be my brother; be he ne're so vile,
This day shall gentle his Condition:
64 And Gentlemen in England, now a bed,
Shall thinke themselves accurst they were not here;
And hold their Manhoods cheape, whiles any speakes,

That fought with vs vpon Saint *Crispines* day.

Re-enter SALISBURY.

68 *Sal.* My Soueraign Lord, bestow your selfe with speed :
The French are brauely in their battailes set,
And will with all expedience charge on vs.

K. Hen. All things are ready, if our minds be so.

72 *West.* Perish the man whose mind is backward now !

K. Hen. Thou do'st not with more helpe from England,
Couze ?

West. Gods will ! my Liege, would you and I alone,
Without more helpe, could fight this Royall bataille !

76 *K. Hen.* Why, now thou hast vnwisht fise thousand
men ;

Which likes me better then to with vs one.

¶ You know your places : God be with you all !

Tucket. Enter MONTIOW.

Mont. Once more I come to know of thee, King *Harry*,

80 If for thy Ransome thou wilt now compound,
Before thy most assured Ouerthrow :

For, certainly, thou art so neere the Gulfe,

Thou needs must be englutted. Besides, in mercy,

84 The Constable desires thee, 'thou wilt mind

Thy followers of Repentance ; that their Soules

May make a peacefull and a sweet retyre

From off these fields, where, wretches, their poore bodies

Must lye and fester.'

88 *K. Hen.* Who hath sent thee now ?

Mont. The Constable of France.

K. Hen. I pray thee beare my former Answer back :

Bid them atchieue me, and then sell my bones.

92 Good God ! why should they mock poore fellows thus ?

The man that once did sell the Lyons skin,

- While the beast liu'd, was kill'd with hunting him.
A many of our bodyes shall, no doubt,
96 Find Natiue Graues; vpon the which, I trust,
Shall witnesse liue in Brasse of this dayes worke :
And those that leaue their valiant bones in France,
Dying like men, though bury'd in your Dunghills,
100 They shall be fam'd; for there the Sun shall greet them,
And draw their honors reeking vp to Heauen;
Leauing their earthly parts to choake your Clyme,
The smell whereof shall breed a Plague in France.
104 Marke then abounding valour in our English,
That, being dead, like to the bullets grafing,†
Breake out into a second course of mischiefe,
Killing in rélapse of Mortalitie.
108 Let me speake proudly: 'Tell the Constable,
We are but Warriors for the working day;
Our Gaynesse and our Gilt, are all besmyrcht
With raynie Marching in the painefull field;
112 There's not a piece of feather in our Hoast,
—Good argument, I hope, we will not flye,—
And time hath worne vs into slouenrie :'
But, by the Masse, our hearts are in the trim;
116 And my poore Souldiers tell me, 'yet ere Night
They'le be in fresher Robes; or they will pluck
The gay new Coats o're the French Souldiers heads,
And turne them out of seruice.' If they doe this,
120 —As, if God please, they shall,—my Ransome then
Will soone be leuy'd. Herald, saue thou thy labour;
Come thou no more for Ransome, gentle Herald:
They shall haue none, I sweare, but these my ioynts,
124 Which if they haue as I will leaue vm them,
Shall yeeld them little, tell the Constable.
Mont. I shall, King *Harry*. And so fare thee well :
Thou neuer shalt heare Herald any more. [Exit.

K. Hen. I feare thou'lt once more come againe for
128 *Raufome.*†

Enter YORKE.

Yorke. My Lord, most humbly on my knee I begge
The leading of the Vaward.

K. Hen. Take it, braue *Yorke.* ¶ Now, Souldiers, march
away!

132 ¶ And how thou pleasest, God, dispose the day! [*Exeunt.*]

IV. iv.—*The Field of Battle.*

*Alarum. Excursions. Enter PISTOLL, French Souldier,
and the Boy.*

Pist. Yeeld, Curre!

Fr. Sol. *Je pense que vous estes Gentilhomme de bonne qualité.*†

Pist. Qualitie! '*Calen o† custure me!*' Art thou a Gentleman?

4 What is thy Name? discusse.

Fr. Sol. *O Seigneur Dieu!*

Pist. O Signieur Dewe should be a Gentleman:

Perpend my words, O Signieur Dewe, and marke;

8 O Signieur Dewe, thou dyest on point of Fox,

Except, O Signieur, thou doe giue to me

Egregious Ransome. [*Makes menacing gestures.*]

Fr. Sol. *O prenez misericorde! ayez pitié† de moy!*

12 *Pist.* Moy shall not serue; I will haue fortie Moyes;

Or † I will fetch thy rymme out at thy Throat,

In droppes of Crimfon blood.

Fr. Sol. *Est il impossible d'eschapper la† force de ton bras?*

16 *Pist.* Brasse, Curre!

Thou damned and luxurious Mountaine Goat,

Offer'ft me Brasse?

Fr. Sol. *O pardonnez† moy!*

20 *Pist.* Say'ft thou me so? is that a Tonne of Moyes?

Come hither, boy: aske me this slaue in French,

What is his Name.

Boy. *Eſcoutez : † comment eſtes vous appellé ?*

24 *Fr. Sol.* *Monſieur † le Fer.*

Boy. He ſayes his Name is M[aster] Fer.

Piſt. M[aster] Fer ! Ile fer him, and firke him, and ferret him : diſcuſſe the ſame in French vnto him.

28 *Boy.* I doe not know the French for 'fer,' and 'ferret,' and 'firke.'

Piſt. Bid him prepare, for I will cut his throat.

Fr. Sol. *Que dit il, Monſieur ? †*

32 *Boy.* *Il me commande de vous dire que vous faites vous preſt ; car ce ſoldat icy eſt diſpoſé tout à cette heure de couper † voſtre gorge.*

Piſt. Owy, cuppele gorge, permaſoy,

Pefant, vuleſſe thou giue me Crownes, braue Crownes ;

36 Or mangled ſhalt thou be by this my Sword.

[*Flourishes his ſword.*]

Fr. Sol. *O, Ie vous ſupplie, pour l'amour de Dieu, me pardonner ! Ie ſuis Gentilhomme de bonne maiſon, gardez † ma vie, & Ie vous donneray deux cent eſcus.*

40 *Piſt.* What are his words ?

Boy. He prayes you to ſaue his life : he is a Gentleman of a good houſe ; and for his ranſom he will giue you two hundred Crownes.

44 *Piſt.* Tell him 'my fury ſhall abate, and I The Crownes will take.'

Fr. Sol. *Petit Monſieur, que dit il ?*

Boy. *Encore qu'il eſt contre ſon Iurement, de pardonner*
48 *aucun priſonnier, neant-moins, pour les eſcus que vous l'avez promis, il eſt content de vous donner la † liberté, le franchiſement.*

Fr. Sol. *Sur mes genoux ie vous donne mille remerciements ; et Ie m'eſtime heureux que Ie ſuis tombé entre les mains d'un*
52 *Chéualier, Ie penſe, le plus braue, valiant, et tres diſtingué ſeigneur † d'Angleterre.*

Piſt. Expound vnto me, boy.

Boy. He giues you, vpon his knees, a thousand thanks;
 56 and he esteemes himselfe happy that he hath falne into
 the hands of one, as he thinkes, the most braue, valorous,
 and thrice-worthy figure of England.

Pist. As I fucke blood, I will some mercy shew.

60 ¶ Follow mee!

[*Exit* PISTOLL.]

Boy. *Suiuex† vous le grand Capitaine.* [*Exit* French Souldier.]

I did neuer know so full a voyce issue from so emptie a
 heart: but the saying is true, 'The empty vessell makes the
 64 greatest sound'. *Bardolfe* and *Nym* had tenne times more
 valour then this roaring diuell i'th olde play, that euerie
 one may payre his nayles with a wooden dagger; and
 they are both hang'd; and so would this be, if hee durst
 68 steale any thing aduenturously. I must stay with the
 Lackies, with the luggage of our camp: the French might
 haue a good pray of vs, if he knew of it, for there is none
 to guard it but boyes. [*Exit.*]

IV. v.—*Another part of the Field.*

Enter the CONSTABLE, ORLEANCE, BURBON, the DOLPHIN,
 and RAMBURS.

Con. *O Diable!*

Orl. *O seigneur! le iour est perdu, tout est perdu! †*

Dol. *Mort de † ma vie!* all is confounded, all!

4 Reproach and euerlasting shame

Sits mocking in our Plumes.—*O meschante Fortune!*—

[*A short Alarum.*]

Do not runne away.

Con.

Why, all our rankes are broke.

Dol. *O perdurable shame!* let's stab our felucs.

8 Be these the wretches that we plaid at dice for?

Orl. Is this the King we sent to † for his ranfome?

Bur. Shame, and eternall shame, nothing but shame!

Let's † dye in [honour]: once more backe againe;

12 And he that will not follow *Burbon* now,
Let him go hence, and, with his cap in hand,
Like a base Pander, hold the Chamber doore,
Whilst by a † slaue, no gentler then my dogge,

16 His fairest daughter is contaminated.

Con. Disorder, that hath spoyl'd vs, friend vs now!

Let vs, on heapes, go offer vp our liues.

Orl. We are enow, yet liuing in the Field,

20 To smother vp the English in our throngs,

If any order might be thought vpon.

Bur. The diuell take Order now! Ile to the throng:

Let life be short; else shame will be too long. [Exeunt.]

IV. vi.—*Another part of the Field.*

Alarum. Enter the KING and his trayne, with Prisoners

K. Hen. Well haue we done, thrice-ualiant Countrimen:
But all's not done; yet keeps the French the field.

[Enter EXETER.]

Exe. The D[uke] of York commends him to your Maiesty.

4 *K. Hen.* Liues he, good Vnckle? thrice within this houre
I saw him downe; thrice vp againe, and fighting;
From Helmet to the spurre, all blood he was.

Exe. In which array, braue Soldier, doth he lye,

8 Larding the plaine: and by his bloody side,
(Yoake-fellow to his honour-owing-wounds,)

The Noble Earle of Suffolke also lyes.

Suffolke first dy'd: and Yorke, all bagled ouer,

12 Comes to him, where in gore he lay insteep'd,
And takes him by the Beard; kisses the gashes
That bloodily did yawne vpon his face,
And † cries aloud, 'Tarry, my Cofin Suffolke!

16 My soule shall thine keepe company to heauen:
Tarry, sweet soule, for mine, then flye a-breft;
As, in this glorious and well-foughten field,

We kept together in our Chiualrie !'

20 Vpon these words I came, and cheer'd him vp ;
He smil'd me in the face, raught me his hand,
And, with a feeble gripe, sayes: ' Deere my Lord,
Commend my seruice to my Souëraigne.'

24 So did he turne, and ouer Suffolkes necke
He threw his wounded arme, and kift his lippes ;
And so, espous'd to death, with blood he seal'd
A Testament of Noble-ending-loue.

28 The prettie and sweet manner of it forc'd
Those waters from me, which I would haue stop'd ;
But I had not so much of man in mee,
And all my mother came into mine eyes,
And gaue me vp to teares.

32 *K. Hen.* I blame you not ;
For hearing this, I must perforce compound
With mistfull † eyes, or they will issue to[o]. [*Alarum.*]
¶ But, hearken ! what new alarum is this fame ?

36 The French haue re-enforc'd their scatter'd men :
Then euery souldiour kill his Prisoners ;
Giue the word through. [*Exeunt.*]

IV. vii.—Another part of the Field.

Enter FLUELLEN and GOWER.

Flu. Kill the poyes and the luggage ! 'Tis expressly
against the Law of Armes: 'tis as arrant a peece of knauery,
marke you now, as can bee offert: in your Conscience now,
4 is it not ?

Gow. 'Tis certaine there's not a boy left aliue; and the
Cowardly Rascalls that ranne from the battaile ha' done
this slaughter: besides, they haue burned and carried away
8 all that was in the Kings Tent; wherefore the King, most
worthily, hath caus'd euery souldiour to cut his prisoners throat.
O, 'tis a gallant King !

Flu. I, hee was porne at *Monmouth*, Captaine *Gower*.
12 What call you the Townes name where *Alexander* the
Pig was porne?†

Gow. *Alexander* the Great.

Flu. Why, I pray you, is not pig, great? The pig, or
16 the great,† or the mighty, or the huge, or the magnani-
mous, are all one reckonings, faue the phraſe is a litle
variations.

Gower. I thinke *Alexander* the Great was borne in
20 *Macedon*; his Father was called *Phillip* of *Macedon*, as I
take it.

Flu. I thinke it is in *Macedon* where *Alexander* is
porne. I tell you, Captaine, if you looke in the Maps
24 of the Orld, I warrant you ſall finde, in the comparifons
betweene *Macedon* & *Monmouth*, that the ſituations, looke
you, is poth† alike. There is a Riuer in *Macedon*; & there
is alſo moreouer a Riuer at *Monmouth*: it is call'd *Wye* at
28 *Monmouth*; but it is out of my praines what is the name
of the other Riuer; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers
is to my fingers, and there is Salmons in both. If you
marke *Alexanders* life well, *Harry* of *Monmouthes* life is
32 come after it indifferent well; for there is figures in all
things. *Alexander*,—God knowes, and you know,—in his
rages, and his furies, and his wraths, and his chollers, and
his moodes, and his difpleafures, and his indignations,
36 and alſo being a litle intoxicates in his praines, did, in
his Ales and his angers, looke you, kill his peſt† friend,
Clytus.

Gow. Our King is not like him in that; he neuer kill'd
40 any of his friends.

Flu. It is not well done, marke you now, to take the
tales out of my mouth, ere it is made and finiſhed. I ſpeak
but in the figures and comparifons of it: as *Alexander*
44 kild his friend *Clytus*, being in his Ales and his Cuppes; fo

also *Harry Monmouth*, being in his right wittes, and his good iudgements, turn'd away the fat Knight with the great pelly † doublet: he was full of iests, and gypes, and
48 knaueries, and mockes; I haue forgot his name.

Gow. Sir *Iohn Falstaffe*.

Flu. That is he: Ile tell you, there is good men porne at *Monmouth*.

52 *Gow.* Heere comes his Maiesty.

Alarum. Enter KING HARRY with BURBON and Prisoners:
GLOUCESTER, EXETER, WARWICK, and other Lords. *Flourish.*

K. Hen. I was not angry since I came to France,
Vntill this instant. ¶ Take a Trumpet, Herald;
Ride thou vnto the Horsemen on yond hill:
56 'If they will fight with vs, bid them come downe,
Or voyde the field; they do offend our fight:
If they'l do neither, we will come to them,
And make them sker away, as swift as stones
60 Enforced from the old Assyrian slings:
Besides, wee'l cut the throats of those we haue;
And not a man of them that we shall take,
Shall taste our mercy.' Go and tell them so. [*Exit Herald.*]

Enter MONTIOM.

64 *Exe.* Here comes the Herald of the French, my Liege.

Glou. His eyes are humbler then they vs'd to be.

K. Hen. How now! what meanes this, Herald? Knowst
thou not

That I haue fin'd these bones of mine for ransome?
Com'ft thou againe for ransome?

68 *Mont.* No, great King:
I come to thee for charitable License,
That we may wander ore this bloody field,
To booke our dead, and then to bury them;

72 To sort our Nobles from our common men :

For many of our Princes (woe the while !)

Lye drown'd and soak'd in mercenary blood ;

—So do our vulgar drench their peasant limbs

76 In blood of Princes ;—and their † wounded steeds

Fret fet-locke deepe in gore, and with wilde rage,

Yerke out their armed heeles at their dead masters,

Killing them twice. O, giue vs leaue, great King,

80 To view the field in safety, and dispose

Of their dead bodies.

K. Hen.

I tell thee truly, Herald,

I know not if the day be ours, or no ;

For yet a many of your horsemen peere

And gallop ore the field.

84 *Mont.*

The day is yours.

K. Hen. Praised be God, and not our strength, for it !

What is this Castle call'd that stands hard by ?

Mont. They call it *Agincourt*.

88 *K. Hen.* Then call we this the field of *Agincourt*,

Fought on the day of *Crispin Crispianus*.

Flu. Your Grandfather of famous memory, an't please

your Maiefty, and your great Vncle *Edward* the Placke

92 Prince of Wales, as I haue read in the Chronicles, fought

a most prauie pattle here in France.

K. Hen. They did, *Fluellen*.

Flu. Your Maiefty sayes very true : If your Maiesties

96 is remembred of it, the Welchmen did good seruice in a

Garden where Leekes did grow, wearing Leekes in their

Monmouth caps ; which, your Maiefty knows,† to this houre

is an honourable padge† of the seruice : And, I do peleeue,†

100 your Maiefty takes no scorne to weare the Leeke vppon

S. Tauius day.

K. Hen. I weare it for a memorable honor :

For I am Welch, you know, good Countreman.

104 *Flu.* All the water in Wye cannot wash your Maiefties
Welsh plood out of your pody, I can tell you that: God
pleffe it and preferue it, as long as it pleases his Grace,
and his Maiefty too!

108 *K. Hen.* Thanks, good my Countryman.

Flu. By Cheshu,† I am your Maiefties Countreyman, I care
not who know it; I will confesse it to all the Orld: I need
not to be ashamed of your Maiefty, praised be God, so long
112 as your Maiefty is an honest man.

Enter WILLIAMS.

K. Hen. God † keepe me so! ¶ Our Heralds go with him:
Bring me iust notice of the numbers dead
On both our parts. ¶ Call yonder fellow hither.

[*Points to WILLIAMS. Exeunt MONTIOW
and the English Heralds.*]

116 *Exe.* Souldier, you must come to the King.

K. Hen. Souldier, why wear'st thou that Gloue in thy
Cappe?

Will. And't please your Maiefty, 'tis the gage of one
120 that I should fight withall, if he be aliue.

K. Hen. An Englishman?

Will. And't please your Maiefty, a Rascall that swagger'd
with me last night; who, if a liue † and euer dare to challenge
124 this Gloue, I haue sworne to take him a boxe a'th ere:
or if I can see my Gloue in his cappe,—which he swore, as
he was a Souldier, he would weare if aliue,—I wil strike it
out soundly.

128 *K. Hen.* What thinke you, Capitaine *Fluellen*? is it fit this
souldier keepe his oath?

Flu. Hee is a Crauen and a Villaine else, and't please
your Maiefty, in my conscience.

132 *K. Hen.* It may bee his enemy is a Gentleman of great
fort, quite from the answer of his degree.

Flu. Though he be as good a Gentleman as the duel is,
as Lucifer and Pelzebub† himselfe, it is necessary, looke
136 your Grace, that he keepe his vow and his oath: If hee
bee periur'd, see you now, his reputation is as arrant a
villaine and a lacke fawce, as euer his placke† shoo trodd
vpon Gods ground and his earth, in my conscience law!

140 *K. Hen.* Then keepe thy vow, firrah, when thou meet'st
the fellow.

Will. So I wil, my Liege, as I liue.

K. Hen. Who seru'st thou vnder?

144 *Will.* Vnder Captaine *Gower*, my Liege.

Flu. *Gower* is a good Captaine, and is good know-
ledge and literated in the Warres.

K. Hen. Call him hither to me, Souldier.

148 *Will.* I will, my Liege. [Exit.]

K. Hen. Here, *Fluellen*; weare thou this fauour for me, and
sticke it in thy Cappe: when *Alanson* and my selfe were
downe together, I pluckt this Gloue from his Helme: If
152 any man challenge this, hee is a friend to *Alanson*, and an
enemy to our Person; if thou encounter any such, apprehend
him, and thou do'st me loue.

Flu. Your Grace doo's me as great Honors as can be
156 desir'd in the hearts of his Subjects: I would faine see
the man, that ha's but two legges, that shall find himselfe
agreefd at this Gloue, that is all; but I would faine see
it once, and please God of his grace that I might see.

160 *K. Hen.* Know'st thou *Gower*?

Flu. He is my deare friend, and please you.

K. Hen. Pray thee, goe seeke him, and bring him to my
Tent.

164 *Flu.* I will fetch him. [Exit.]

K. Hen. My Lord of *Warwick*, and my Brother *Gloster*,
Follow *Fluellen* closely at the heeles:
The Gloue, which I haue giuen him for a fauour,

- 168 May, haply, purchase him a box a'th'eare;
It is the Souldiers; I, by bargaine, should
Weare it my selfe. Follow, good Cousin *Warwick*:
If that the Souldier strike him,—as I iudge
172 By his blunt bearing, he will keepe his word,—
Some fodaine mischiefes may arise of it;
For I doe know *Fluellen* valiant,
And, toucht with Choler, hot as Gunpowder,
176 And quickly will returne an iniurie:
Follow, and see there be no harme betweene them.
¶ Goe you with me, Vnckle of Exeter. [*Exeunt.*]

IV. viii.—*Before KING HENRY'S Pavilion.*

Enter GOWER and WILLIAMS.

Will. I warrant it is to Knight you, Captaine.

Enter FLUELLEN.

Flu. Gods will and his pleasure, Captaine, I pefecch † you
now, come, apace to the King: there is more good toward
4 you, peraduenture, then is in your knowledge to dreame of.

Will. Sir, know you this Gloue?

Flu. Know the Gloue? I know the Gloue is a Gloue.

Will. I know this, [*Points to glove in Flu.'s cap.*] and thus I
8 challenge it. [*Strikes him.*]

Flu. 'Splud, † an arrant Traytor as anyes in the Vniuer-
sall 'orld, † or in France, or in England.

Gower. How now, Sir! you Villaine!

12 *Will.* Doe you thinke Ile be forsworne?

Flu. Stand away, Captaine *Gower*; I will giue Treason
his payment into plowes, I warrant you.

Will. I am no Traytor.

16 *Flu.* That's a Lye in thy Throat. ¶ I charge you in his
Maiesties Name, apprehend him: he's a friend of the Duke
Alançons.

Enter WARWICK and GLOUCESTER.

Warw. How now, how now! what's the matter?

- 20 *Flu.* My Lord of Warwick, heere is—prayed be God
for it!—a most contagious Treafon come to light, looke you,
as you fhall defire in a Summers day. Heere is his Maieftie.

Enter the KING and EXETER.

K. Hen. How now! what's the matter?

- 24 *Flu.* My Liege, heere is a Villaine, and a Traytor, that,
looke your Grace, ha's ftrooke the Gloue which your Maieftie
is take out of the Helmet of *Alanfon*.

Will. My Liege, this was my Gloue; here is the fellow
28 of it; and he that I gaue it to in change, promis'd to weare
it in his Cappe: I promis'd to ftrike him, if he did: I met
this man with my Gloue in his Cappe, and I haue been as
good as my word.

- 32 *Flu.* Your Maieftie, heare now!—fauing your Maiefties
Manhood,—what an arrant, rafcally, peggerly,† lowfie Knaue it
is: I hope your Maieftie is peare me testimony, and witneffe,
and will auouchment, that this is the Gloue of *Alanfon*,
36 that your Maieftie is giue me; in your Conscience, now?

K. Hen. Giue me thy Gloue, Souldier: Lookke, heere is
the fellow of it.

- 'Twas I, indeed, thou promised'st to ftrike,
40 And thou haft giuen me most bitter termes.

Flu. And please your Maieftie, let his Neck anfwere
for it, if there is any Marshall Law in the World.

K. Hen. How canst thou make me fatisfaction?

- 44 *Will.* All offences, my Lord, come from the heart: neuer
came any from mine that might offend your Maieftie.

K. Hen. It was our felfe thou didst abuse.

- Will.* Your Maieftie came not like your felfe: you appear'd
48 to me but as a common man; witneffe the Night, your

Garments, your Lowlineffe; and what your Highnesse suffer'd vnder that shape, I beseech you take it for your owne fault, and not mine: for had you beene as I tooke you for, I made
52 no offence; therefore, I beseech your Highnesse, pardon me.

K. Hen. ¶ Here, Vnckle *Exeter*, fill this Gloue with Crownes, And giue it to this fellow. ¶ Keepe it, fellow, And weare it for an Honor in thy Cappe,
56 Till I doe challenge it. ¶ Giue him the Crownes:
¶ And, Captaine, you must needs be friends with him.

Flu. By this Day and this Light, the fellow ha's met-tell enough in his pelly.† ¶ Hold, there is twelue-pence for
60 you; and I pray you to serue God, and keepe you out of prawles, and prabbles, and quarrels, and dissentions, and, I warrant you, it is the petter† for you.

Will. I will none of your Money.

64 *Flu.* It is with a good will, I can tell you: it will serue you to mend your shooes: come, wherefore should you be so pathfull? your shooes is not so good: 'tis a good filling, I warrant you, or I will change it.

Enter an English Herald.

68 *K. Hen.* Now, Herald; are the dead numbred?

Herald. Heere is the number of the slaught'ed French.

[Delivers a Paper.]

K. Hen. What Prisoners of good fort are taken, Vnckle?

Exe. *Charles* Duke of Orleance, Nephew to the King;

72 *John* Duke of Burbon, and Lord *Bouchiquald*:

Of other Lords and Barons, Knights and Squires,

Full fiftene hundred, besides common men.

K. Hen. This Note doth tell me of ten thousand French,

76 That in the field lye flaine: of Princes, in this number,

And Nobles bearing Banners, there lye dead

One hundred twentie six: added to these,

Of Knights, Esquires, and gallant Gentlemen,

- 80 Eight thousand and foure hundred ; of the which,
Fieue hundred were but yesterday dubb'd Knights :
So that, in these ten thousand they haue lost,
There are but fixteene hundred Mercenaries ;
84 The rest are Princes, Barons, Lords, Knights, Squires,
And Gentlemen of bloud and qualitie.
The Names of those their Nobles that lye dead :
Charles Delabreth, High Constable of France ;
88 *Iaques* of Chatilion, Admirall of France ;
The Master of the Crosse-bowes, Lord *Rambures* ;
Great Master of France, the braue Sir *Guichard Dolphin* ;
John Duke of Alanson, *Anthonie* Duke of Brabant,
92 The Brother to the Duke of Burgundie ;
And *Edward* Duke of Barr : of lustie Earles,
Grandpree and *Rouffe*, *Fauconbridge* and *Foyes*,
Beaumont and *Marle*, *Vaudemont*† and *Lestrale*.
96 Here was a Royall fellowship of death !

Where is the number of our English dead ?

[Herald presents another Paper.]

- Edward* the Duke of Yorke, the Earle of Suffolke,
Sir *Richard Ketly*, *Dauy Gam*, Esquire :
100 None else of name ; and, of all other men,
But fiue and twentie. ¶ O God, thy Arme was heere !
And not to vs, but to thy Arme alone,
Ascribe we all ! When, without stratagem,
104 But in plaine shock and euen play of Battaile,
Was euer knowne so great and little losse,
On one part and on th'other ? Take it, God,
For it is none but thine !

Exet.

'Tis wonderfull !

- 108 *K. Hen.* Come, goe we† in procession to the Village ;
And be it death proclaymed through our Hoast,
To boast of this, or take that prayse from God,
Which is his onely.

112 *Flu.* Is it not lawfull, and please your Maiestie, to tell
how many is kill'd?

K. Hen. Yes, Captaine; but with this acknowledgement,
That God fought for vs.

116 *Flu.* Yes, my conscience, he did vs great good.

K. Hen. Doe we all holy Rights;
Let there be sung *Non nobis*, and *Te Deum*;
The dead with charitie enclos'd in Clay:

120 And then to Callice, and to England then;
Where ne're from France arriu'd more happy men.
[*Exeunt.*

ACT V.

Enter Chorus.

Vouchsafe to those that haue not read the Story,
That I may prompt them: and of such as haue,
I humbly pray them to admit th'excuse

4 Of time, of numbers, and due course of things,
Which cannot in their huge and proper life,
Be here presented. Now we beare the King
Toward Callice: Graunt him there; there seeene,

8 Heaue him away vpon your winged thoughts,
Athwart the Sea: Behold, the English beach
Pales in the flood with Men, Wiues, [Maids.] and Boyes,
Whose shouts & claps out-voyce the deep-mouth'd Sea,

12 Which, like a mightie Whiffler 'fore the King,
Seemes to prepare his way: So let him land,
And solemnly, see him set on to London.

So swift a pace hath Thought, that euen now

16 You may imagine him vpon Black-Heath,
Where that his Lords desire him to haue borne

- His bruised Helmet, and his bended Sword,
Before him, through the Citie : he forbids it,
20 Being free from vain-nesse and selfe-glorious pride ;
Giuing full Trophee, Signall, and Ostént,
Quite from himselfe, to God. But now behold,
In the quick Forge and working-houfe of Thought,
24 How London doth powre out her Citizens !
The Maior and all his Brethren, in best fort,—
Like to the Senatours of th'antique Rome,
With the Plebeians swarming at their heeles,—
28 Goe forth and fetch their Conqu'ring *Cæsar* in :
As, by a lower, but by louing likelihood,
Were now the Generall of our gracious Empreffe,
—As, in good time, he may,—from Ireland comming,
32 Bringing Rebellion broached on his Sword,
How many would the peacefull Citie quit,
To welcome him ? much more,—and much more cause,—
Did they this *Harry*. Now in London place him,
36 —As yet the lamentation of the French
Inuites the King of Englands stay at home :
The Emperour's comming in behalfe of France,
To order peace betweene them—and omit
40 All the occurrences, what euer chanc't,
Till *Harryes* backe returne againe to France :
There must we bring him ; and my selfe haue play'd
The *interim*, by remembring you 'tis past.
44 Then brooke abridgement, and your eyes aduance,
After your thoughts, straight backe againe to France. [Exit.

V. i.—France. *The English Camp.*

Enter FLUELLEN and GOWER.

Gower. Nay, that's right ; but why weare you your
Leeke to day ? *S. Davies* day is past.

Flu. There is occasions and causes why and wherefore
 4 in all things: I will tell you, asse my friend, Captaine
Gower: the rascally, scauld, peggerly,† lowfie, pragg
Knaue Pistoll,—which you and your selfe, and all the 'orld,†
 know to be no petter then a fellow, looke you now, of no
 8 merits,—hee is come to me, and prings me pread and
 fault yesterday, looke you, and pid† me eate my Leeke:
 it was in a place where I could not preed† no contention
 with him; but I will be so pold† as to weare it in my Cap
 12 till I see him once againe, and then I will tell him a little
 piece of my desires.

Enter PISTOLL.

Gower. Why, heere hee comes, swelling like a Turkeycock.

Flu. 'Tis no matter for his swellings, nor his Turkey-
 16 cocks. ¶ God plesse you, aunchient *Pistoll*! you scurue, lowfie
Knaue, God plesse you!

Pist. Ha! art thou bedlam? doest thou thirst, base Trojan,
 To haue me fold vp *Parcas* fatall Web?
 20 Hence! I am qualmish at the smell of Leeke.

Flu. I pefeech you heartily, scurue, lowfie *Knaue*, at
 my desires, and my requests, and my petitions, to eate,
 looke you, this Leeke; because, looke you, you doe not
 24 loue it, nor your affections, and your appetites, and your
 disgestions doo's not agree with it, I would desire you
 to eate it.

Pist. Not for *Cadwallader* and all his Goats.

28 *Flu.* There is one Goat for you. [*Strikes him.*]
 Will you be so good, scauld *Knaue*, as eate it?

Pist. Base Trojan, thou shalt dye!

Flu. You say very true, scauld *Knaue*, when Gods will
 32 is: I will desire you to liue in the meane time, and eate
 your Vi&uals: come, there is sawce for it. [*Strikes him.*]
 You call'd me yesterday 'Mountaine-Squier,' but I will make

you to day a 'squire of low degree.' I pray you, fall to; † if
36 you can mocke a Leeke, you can eate a Leeke. [*Beats him.*

Gow. Enough, Captaine; you haue astonisht him.

Flu. I say, I will make him eate some part of my leeke,
or I will peate his pate foure dayes. ¶ Pite † I pray you; it is
40 good for your greene wound, and your ploodie Coxecombe.

Pist. Must I bite?

Flu. Yes, certainly; and out of doubt, and out of question
too, and ambiguities.

[*He makes ANCIENT PISTOL bite of the Leeke.*

44 *Pist.* By this [same] Leeke, I will most horribly reuenge!
I eate and eke † I sweare—

Flu. Eate, I pray you: will you haue some more sauce
to your Leeke? there is not enough Leeke to sweare by.

[*Beats him.*

48 *Pist.* Quiet thy Cudgell; thou dost see I eate.

Flu. Much good do you, scald knaue, heartily. Nay,
pray you, throw none away; the skinne is good for your
proken † Coxcombe. When you take occasions to see Leekes
52 heereafter, I pray you, mocke at 'em, that is all.

Pist. Good.

Flu. I, Leekes is good: hold 'you, there is a groat to
heale your pate.

56 *Pist.* Me a groat!

Flu. Yes, verily and in truth, you shall take it; or I haue
another Leeke in my pocket, which you shall eate.

Pist. I take thy groat in earnest of reuenge.

60 *Flu.* If I owe you any thing, I will pay you in Cudgels:
you shall be a Woodmonger, and buy nothing of me but
cudgels. God bu'y you, and keepe you, & heale your pate. [*Exit*

Pist. All hell shall stirre for this.

64 *Gow.* Go, go; you are a counterfeit cowardly Knaue.
Will you mocke at an ancient Tradition,—begun † vppon an
honourable respect, and worne as a memorable Trophée

of predeceased valor,—and dare not anouch in your deeds
 68 any of your words? I haue seene you gleeking & galling
 at this Gentleman twice or thrice. You thought, because
 he could not speake English in the natiue garb, he could
 not therefore handle an English Cudgell: you finde it other-
 72 wife; and, henceforth, let a Welsh correction teach you a good
 English condition. Fare ye well. [Exit.

Pist. Doeth fortune play the huswife with me now?
 Newes haue I, that my *Nell* † is dead i'th Spittle,
 76 Of malady † of France;
 And there my rendezvous is quite cut off.
 Old I do waxe; and from my wearie limbes
 Honour is Cudgeld. Well, Baud Ile turne,
 80 And something leane to Cut-purse of quicke hand:
 To England will I steale, and there Ile steale:
 And patches will I get vnto these cudgeld scarres,
 And sweare † I got them in the Gallia warres. [Exit.

V. ii.—Troyes in Champagne. *The FRENCH
 KING's Palace.*

*Enter at one doore, KING HENRY, CLARENCE, BEDFORD,
 GLOUCESTER, EXETER, HUNTINGTON, WARWICKE,
 WESMERLAND, and other English Lords. At another, the
 FRENCH KING, QUEENE ISABEL, the PRINCESS KATHERINE,
 ALICE, and other Ladies: the DUKE OF BOURGONGNE, and
 other French Lords.*

K. Hen. Peace to this meeting, wherefore we are met!
 ¶ Vnto our brother France, and to our Sister,
 Health and faire time of day! ¶ Ioy and good wishes
 4 To our most faire and Princely Cosine *Katherine*!
 ¶ And, as a branch and member of this Royalty,
 By whom this great assembly is contriu'd,
 We do salute you, Duke of *Burgognè*!
 8 ¶ And, Princes French, and Peeres, health to you all!

Fr. King. Right ioyous are we to behold your face,
Most worthy brother England; fairely met!

¶ So are you, Princes English, euery one.

12 *Q. Isa.* So happy be the Issue, brother England,†

Of this good day, and of this gracious meeting,

As we are now glad to behold your eyes;

Your eyes, which hitherto haue borne in them,

16 Against the French that met them in their bent,

The fatall Balls of murdering Basiliskes:

The venome of such Lookes, we fairely hope,

Haue lost their qualitie; and that this day

20 Shall change all griefes and quarrels into loue.

K. Hen. To cry Amen to that, thus we appeare.

Q. Isa. You English Princes all, I doe salute you!

Burg. My dutie to you both, on equall loue,

24 Great Kings of France and England! That I haue labour'd

With all my wits, my paines, and strong endeours,

To bring your most Imperiall Maiesties

Vnto this Barre and Royall enterview,

28 Your Mightinesse on both parts best can witnesse.

Since then my Office hath so farre preuayl'd,

That, Face to Face, and Royall Eye to Eye,

You haue congreeted; let it not disgrace me,

32 If I demand, before this Royall view,

What Rub or what Impediment there is,

Why that the naked, poore, and mangled Peace,

Deare Nourse of Arts, Plenties, and ioyfull Births,

36 Should not, in this best Garden of the World,

Our fertile France, put vp her louely Visage?

Alas! shee hath from France-too long been chas'd,

And all her Husbandry doth lye on heapes,

40 Corrupting in it owne fertilitie.

Her Vine, the merry chearer of the heart,

Vnpruned dyes; her Hedges euen pleach'd,

- Like Prisoners wildly ouer-growne with hayre,
44 Put forth disorder'd Twigs; her fallow Leas,
The Darnell, Hemlock, and ranke Fumitory,†
Doth root vpon; while that the Culter rufts,
That should deracinate such Sauagery :
- 48 The euen Meade, that erst brought sweetly forth
The freckled Cowflip, Burnet, and greene Clouer,
Wanting the Sythe, all † vncorrected, ranke,
Conceiues by idleneffe, and nothing teemes
- 52 But hatefull Docks, rough Thiftles, Kekfyes, Burres,
Loofing both beautie and vilitie;
And all our Vineyards, Fallowes, Meades, and Hedges.
Defectiue in their natures, grow to wildneffe.
- 56 Euen so our Houfes, and our felues, and Children,
Haue loft, or doe not learne, for want of time,
The Sciences that should become our Countrey;
But grow like Sauages,—as Souldiers will, .
- 60 That nothing doe but meditate on Blood,—
To Swearing, and sterne Lookes, defus'd Attyre,
And euery thing that seemes vnnaturall.
Which to reduce into our former fauour,
- 64 You are assembled : and my speech entreats,
That I may know the Let, why gentle Peace
Should not expell these inconueniences,
And bleffe vs with her former qualities.
- 68 *K. Hen.* If, Duke of Burgonie, you would the Peace,
Whose want giues growth to th'imperfections
Which you haue cited; you must buy that Peace
With full accord to all our iust demands,
- 72 Whose Tenures and particular effects
You haue, enschedul'd briefly, in your hands.
Burg. The King hath heard them; to the which, as yet,
There is no Answer made.
K. Hen. Well then, the Peace,

76 Which you before so vrg'd, lies in his Answer.

Fr. King. I haue but with a curfory [†] eye
O're-glanc't the Articles : Pleaseth your Grace
To appoint some of your Councell presently,
80 To fit with vs once more, with better heed
To re-suruey them, we will suddenly
Passe our accept and peremptorie Answer.

K. Hen. Brother, we shall. ¶ Goe, Vnckle *Exeter*,
84 ¶ And Brother *Clarence*, ¶ and you, Brother *Gloucester*,
¶ *Warwick*, ¶ and *Huntington*, goe with the King ;
And take with you free power, to ratifie,
Augment, or alter, as your Wifdomes best
88 Shall see aduantageable for our Dignitie,
Any thing in, or out of, our Demands,
And wee'le conigne thereto. ¶ Will you, faire Sister,
Goe with the Princes, or stay here with vs ?

92 *Q. Isa.* Our gracious Brother, I will goe with them :
Haply a Womans Voyce may doe some good,
When Articles too nicely vrg'd, be stood on.

K. Hen. Yet leaue our Coufin *Katherine* here with vs :
96 She is our capitall Demand, compris'd
Within the fore-ranke of our Articles,

Q. Isa. She hath good leaue. [Exeunt.]

Manent KING HENRY, KATHERINE, and ALICE.

K. Hen. Faire *Katherine*, and most faire !
Will you vouchsafe to teach a Souldier tearmes,
100 Such as will enter at a Ladyes eare,
And pleade his Loue-suit to her gentle heart ?

Kath. Your Maiestie shall mock at me ; I cannot speake
your England.

104 *K. Hen.* O faire *Katherine*, if you will loue me soundly with
your French heart, I will be glad to heare you confesse it
brokenly with your English Tongue. Doe you like me, *Kate* ?

Kath. Pardonnez † moy, I cannot tell vat † is 'like me.'

108 *K. Hen.* An Angell is like you, *Kate*, and you are like an Angell.

Kath. Que dit il ? que Je suis semblable à les Anges ?

Alice. Ouy, verayment, sauf vostre Grace, ainſi dit il.

112 *K. Hen.* I ſaid ſo, deare *Katherine*; and I muſt not bluſh to affirme it.

Kath. O bon Dieu ! les langues des hommes ſont pleines † de tromperies.

116 *K. Hen.* What ſayes ſhe, faire one ? that the tongues of men are full of deceits ?

Alice. Ouy, dat de tongues † of de mans is be full of deceits : dat is de Princeſſe.

120 *K. Hen.* The Princeſſe is the better Engliſh-woman. Yfaith, *Kate*, my wooing is fit for thy vnderſtanding : I am glad thou canſt ſpeake no better Engliſh ; for, if thou could'ſt, thou would'ſt finde me ſuch a plaine King, that thou wouldſt
124 thinke I had ſold my Farme to buy my Crowne. I know no wayes to mince it in loue, but directly to ſay, 'I loue you' : then, if you vrge me farther then to ſay, 'Doe you, in faith ?' I weare out my ſuite. Giue me your anſwer ;
128 yfaith, doe : and ſo clap hands and a bargaine : how ſay you, Lady ?

Kath. Sauſv vofire honneur, † me vnderſtand vell. †

K. Hen. Marry, if you would put me to Verſes, or to
132 Dance for your ſake, *Kate*, why you vndid me : for the one, I haue neither words nor meaſure ; and for the other, I haue no ſtrength in meaſure, yet a reaſonable meaſure in ſtrength. If I could winne a Lady at Leape-frogge, or by
136 vawting into my Saddle with my Armour on my backe, —vnder the correction of bragging be it ſpoken,—I ſhould quickly leape into a Wife. Or, if I might buffet for my Loue, or bound my Horſe for her fauours, I could lay on
140 like a Butcher, and ſit like a Iack an Apes, neuer off. But,

before God, *Kate*, I cannot looke greenely, nor gaspe out
my eloquence, nor I haue no cunning in protestation;
onely downe-right Oathes, which I neuer vse till vrg'd,
144 nor neuer breake for vrging. If thou canst loue a fellow
of this temper, *Kate*, whose face is not worth Sunne-burning,
that neuer looks in his Glasse for loue of any thing
he sees there, let thine Eye be thy Cooke. I speake to
148 thee plaine Souldier: If thou canst loue me for this, take
me; if not, to say to thee that 'I shall dye,' is true; but
for thy loue, by the L[ord,] No; yet I loue thee too. And
while thou liu'ft, deare *Kate*, take a fellow of plaine and
152 vncoyned Constancie; for he perforce must do thee right,
because he hath not the gift to wooe in other places: for
these fellows of infinit tongue, that can ryme themselves
into Ladyes fauours, they doe alwayes reason themselves
156 out againe. What! a speaker is but a prater; a Ryme is
but a Ballad; a good Legge will fall; a strait Backe will
stoop; a blacke Beard will turne white; a curl'd Pate will
grow bald; a faire Face will wither; a full Eye will wax
160 hollow: but a good Heart, *Kate*, is the Sunne and the
Moone; or, rather, the Sunne, and not the Moone; for it
shines bright, and neuer changes, but keepes his course
truly. If thou would haue such a one, take me: and
164 take me, take a Souldier; take a Souldier, take a King.
And what say'ft thou then to my Loue? speake, my faire,
and fairely, I pray thee.

Kath. Is it possible dat I sould loue de ennemie of
168 Fraunce?

K. Hen. No; it is not possible you should loue the Enemie
of France, *Kate*: but, in louing me, you should loue the
Friend of France; for I loue France so well that I will
172 not part with a Village of it; I will haue it all mine: and,
Kate, when France is mine and I am yours, then yours is
France and you are mine.

Kath. I cannot tell vat † is dat.

176 *K. Hen.* No, *Kate*? I will tell thee in French; which I am
sure will hang vpon my tongue like a new-married Wife
about her Husbands Necke, hardly to be shooke off. *Quand*
i'ay† le possession de Fraunce, & quand vous aux† le possession de
180 *moy.* (Let mee see, what then? *Saint Dennis* bee my
speede!) *Donc vostre est Fraunce, & vous estes mienne.* It
is as easie for me, *Kate*, to conquer the Kingdome as to
speake so much more French: I shall neuer moue thee in
184 French, vnlesse it be to laugh at me.

Kath. *Sauf vostre honneur, le François que vous parlez, il est*
meilleur † que l' Anglois lequel Je parle.

K. Hen. No, faith, is't not, *Kate*: but thy speaking of my
188 Tongue, and I thine, most truely falsely, must needes be
graunted to be much at one. But, *Kate*, doo'st thou vnder-
stand thus much English? Canst thou loue mee?

Kath. I cannot tell.

192 *K. Hen.* Can any of your Neighbours tell, *Kate*? Ile
aske them. Come, I know thou louest me: and at night,
when you come into your Closet, you'le question this
Gentlewoman about me; and I know, *Kate*, you will, to
196 her, dispraise those parts in me, that you loue with your
heart: but good *Kate*, mocke me mercifully; the rather,
gentle Princeesse, because I loue thee cruelly. If euer thou
bee'st mine, *Kate*,—as I haue a sauing Faith within me tells
200 me thou shalt,—I get thee with skambling, and thou must
therefore needes proue a good Souldier-breeder. Shall not
thou and I, betweene *Saint Dennis* and *Saint George*, com-
pound a Boy, halfe French, halfe English, that shall goe
204 to Constantinople and take the Turke by the Beard? Shall
wee not? what say'st thou, my faire Flower-de-Luce?

Kath. I doe not know dat.

K. Hen. No; 'tis hereafter to know, but now to promise:
208 doe but now promise, *Kate*, you will endeaour for your

French part of such a Boy; and, for my English moytie, take the Word of a King and a Batcheler. How answer you, *La plus belle Katherine du monde, mon trescher & deuin dresse.*

212 *Kath.* Your *Maigsté* 'aue *fausse* † Frenche enough to deceiue de most *sage Damoiselle* † dat is *en Fraunce*.

K. Hen. Now, fye vpon my false French! By mine Honor, in true English, I loue thee, *Kate*: by which Honor I dare
216 not sweare thou louest me; yet my blood begins to flatter me that thou doo'st, notwithstanding the poore and vntempering effect of my Visage. Now, beshrew my Fathers Ambition! hee was thinking of Ciuill Warres when hee got me: therefore
220 was I created with a stubborne out-side, with an aspect of Iron, that, when I come to wooe Ladyes, I fright them. But, in faith, *Kate*, the elder I wax, the better I shall appeare: My comfort is that Old Age, that ill layer vp of Beautie
224 can doe no more spoyle vpon my Face: Thou hast me, if thou hast me, at the worst; and thou shalt weare me, if thou weare me, better and better: and therefore tell me, most faire *Katherine*, will you haue me? Put off your Maiden
228 Blushes; auouch the Thoughts of your Heart with the Lookes of an Empreffe; take me by the Hand, and say, '*Harry of England, I am thine*:' which Word thou shalt no sooner blesse mine Eare withall, but I will tell thee alowd, '*Eng-*
232 *land is thine, Ireland is thine, France is thine, and Henry Plantaginet is thine*;' who, though I speake it before his Face, if he be not Fellow with the best King, thou shalt finde the best King of Good-fellowes. Come, your Answer
236 in broken Musick; for thy Voyce is Musick, and thy English broken: therefore, Queene of all *Katherines*, † breake thy minde to me in broken English; wilt thou haue me?

Kath. Dat is as it shall please de *Roy mon pere*.

240 *K. Hen.* Nay, it will please him well, *Kate*; it shall please him, *Kate*.

Kath. Den it fall also content me.

K. Hen. Vpon that I kisse your Hand, and I call you my
244 Queene.

Kath. *Laissez, mon Seigneur, laissez, laissez: ma foy, Je ne
veux point que vous abbaissez vostre grandeur en baissant la
main d'une de vostre Seigneurie indigne serviteure; excusez †*
248 *moy, Je vous supplie, mon tres-puissant Seigneur.*

K. Hen. Then I will kisse your Lippes, Kate.

Kath. *Les Dames Et Damoiselles pour estre baiffées deuant
leurs nopces, il n'est pas la coustume † de Fraunce.*

252 K. Hen. Madame my Interpreter, what sayes shee?

Alice. Dat it is not be de fashon pour les † Ladies of
Fraunce,—I cannot tell vat † is 'baiser,' † en Anglish.

K. Hen. 'To kisse.'

256 Alice. Your Maiestee *entendre* better *que moy*.

K. Hen. It is not a fashon for the Maids in Fraunce to
kisse before they are marryed, would she say?

Alice. *Ouy, verayment.*

260 K. Hen. O Kate, nice Customes curfie to great Kings.
Deare Kate, you and I cannot bee confin'd within the weake
Lyft of a Countreyes fashon: wee are the makers of Manners,
Kate; and the libertie that followes our Places stoppes the
264 mouth of all finde-faults; as I will doe yours, for vpholding
the nice fashon of your Countrey in denying me a Kisse:
therefore, patiently and yeelding. [*Kissing her.*] You haue
Witch-craft in your Lippes, Kate: there is more eloquence
268 in a Sugar touch of them then in the Tongues of the French
Councill; and they should sooner perswade Harry of England
then a generall Petition of Monarchs.—Heere comes your Father.

*Re-enter the FRENCH KING, QUEEN ISABEL, BURGUNDY,
CLARENCE, BEDFORD, GLOUCESTER, EXETER, WESTMER-
LAND, and other French and English Lords.*

Burg. God saue your Maiestie! my Royall Cousin,
272 teach you our Princeesse English?

K. Hen. I would haue her learne, my faire Cousin, how perfectly I loue her; and that is good English.

Burg. Is shee not apt?

276 *K. Hen.* Our Tongue is rough, Coze, and my Condition is not smooth; so that, hauing neyther the Voyce nor the Heart of Flatterie about me, I cannot so coniure vp the Spirit of Loue in her, that hee will appeare in his true
280 likenesse.

Burg. Pardon the franknesse of my mirth, if I answer you for that. If you would coniure in her, you must make a Circle: if coniure vp Loue in her in his true
284 likenesse, hee must appeare naked, and blinde. Can you blame her then, being a Maid yet ros'd ouer with the Virgin Crimson of Modestie, if shee deny the apparance of a naked blinde Boy in her naked seeing selfe? It were,
288 my Lord, a hard Condition for a Maid to configne to.

K. Hen. Yet they doe winke and yeeld, as Loue is blind and enforces.

Burg. They are then excus'd, my Lord, when they see
292 not what they doe.

K. Hen. Then, good my Lord, teach your Cousin to consent winking.

Burg. I will winke on her to consent, my Lord, if you
296 will teach her to know my meaning: for Maides, well Summer'd, and warme kept, are like Flyes at Bartholomew-tyde, blinde, though they haue their eyes; and then they will endure handling, which before would not abide
300 looking on.

K. Hen. This Morall tyes me ouer to Time, and a hot Summer; and so I shall catch the Flye, your Cousin, in the latter end, and shee must be blinde to[o].

304 *Burg.* As Loue is, my Lord, before it loues.

K. Hen. It is so: and you may, some of you, thanke Loue for my blindnesse, who cannot see many a faire

French Citie for one faire French Maid that stands in my
308 way.

Fr. King. Yes, my Lord, you see them perspectiue-
ly, the Cities turn'd into a Maid; for they are all gyrdled
with Maiden Walls that Warre hath [never] entred.

312 *K. Hen.* Shall *Kate* be my Wife?

Fr. King. So please you.

K. Hen. I am content; so the Maiden Cities you talke
of may wait on her: so the Maid that stood in the way
316 for my With shall shew me the way to my Will.

Fr. King. Wee haue consented to all tearmes of reason.

K. Hen. Is't so, my Lords of England?

West. The King hath graunted euery Article:
320 His Daughter first; and [then] in sequele, all,
According to their firme proposd natures.

Exe. Onely, he hath not yet subscribed this:

Where your Maiestie demands, 'That the King of France,
324 hauing any occasion to write for matter of Graunt, shall
name your Highnesse in this forme, and with this addition,
in French: *Nostre trescher filz Henry, Roy d' Angleterre,*
Héritier † de Fraunce; and thus in Latine: *Præclarissimus*
328 *Filius noster Henricus, Rex Angliæ, & Hæres † Franciæ.*'

Fr. King. Nor this I haue not, Brother, so deny'd;
But your request shall make me let it passe.

K. Hen. I pray you then, in loue and deare allyance,
332 Let that one Article ranke with the rest;
And, thereupon, giue me your Daughter.

Fr. King. Take her, faire Sonne, and from her blood rayle vp
Issue to me; that the contending Kingdomes
336 Of France and England, whose very shoares looke pale
With enuy of each others happinesse,
May cease their hatred; and this deare Coniunction
Plant Neighbour-hood and Christian-like accord
340 In their sweet Bosomes; that neuer Warre aduance

His bleeding Sword 'twixt England and faire France.

Lords. Amen!

K. Hen. Now welcome, *Kate*: and beare me witnesse all,
344 That here I kisse her as my Soueraigne Queene.

[*Flourish.*

Q. Isa. God, the best maker of all Marriages,
Combine your hearts in one, your Realmes in one!
As Man and Wife, being two, are one in loue,
348 So be there 'twixt your Kingdomes such a Spoufall,
That neuer may ill Office, or fell Iealousie,
Which troubles oft the Bed of blessed Marriage,
Thrust in betweene the Pa[c]tion of these Kingdomes,
352 To make diuorce of their incorporate League;
That English may as French, French Englishmen,
Receiue each other! God speake this Amen!

All. Amen!

356 *K. Hen.* Prepare we for our Marriage: on which day,
My Lord of Burgundy, wee'll take your Oath,
And all the Peeres, for suretie of our Leagues.
Then shall I sweare to *Kate*, and you to me;
360 And may our Oathes well kept and prosp'rous be.

[*Sennet. Exeunt.*

EPILOGUE.

Enter Chorus.

Thus farre, with rough and all-vnable Pen,
Our bending Author hath purfu'd the Story,
In little roome confining mightie men,
4 Mangling by starts the full course of their glory.
Small time, but in that small, most greatly liu'd
This Starre of England. Fortune made his Sword;
By which the Worlds best Garden he atchieu'd,
8 And of it left his Sonne Imperiall Lord.

Henry the Sixth, in Infant Bands crown'd King
Of France and England, did this King succeed ;
Whose State so many had the managing,
12 That they lost France, and made his England bleed :
Which oft our Stage hath shewn ; and, for their sake,
In your faire minds let this, acceptance take. [Exit.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF READINGS IN THE FRENCH (F1) TEXT OF *Henry V.*

The readings of the French text in F1 are given in this list; words or letters inserted without brackets in the revised text being here bracketed, and the corrupt words italicized.

ACT III. SC. iv.

1. tu bien *parlas*—3. *En*—4, 5. *m'enseigniez*, il faut que *ie apprend a parler* : *Comient appelle*[z] vous *le*—8. *Le main il & appelle*[e]—7. *E[t] le[s] doyts.*—8-10. *Le[s] doyts*, ma foy *le* oublie, [*l*]e[s] *doyt mays*, ie me *soumeray le[s] doyts* ie pense qu'ils [s]ont appelle[s] de fingres, ou[y]—11-13. *Le main de Hand*, le[s] *doyts le* Fingres, ie pense que ie suis *le bon*[ne] escolier. *I'ay gaynie diux mots d'Anglois* vistement, com[m]ent appelle[z] vous le[s]—14. *Le[s] ongles*, [nous]—15, 16. *escoute*[z] : dites moy, si ie parle bien : de Hand, de Fingres, e[t]—17. il &—20. *E[t] de coudee.*—21. *D'Elbow.*—22, 23. *D'Elbow* : ie men fay *le repiticio de tous* les mots que vous *maves, apprius*—24. Il &—25, 26. *Excuse*[z] moy Alice *escoute*[z], d'Hand, de Fingre, de Nayles, d'Arma,]—27. *D'Elbow,*]—28, 29. men oublie d'Elbow, com[m]ent appelle[z]—31. *E[t]*—34, 35. *prononcier* les mots aus[s]i—36. *de*—38, 39. N'aue[z] vo[u]s y desia oublie[e] ce que ie vous a[y] *ensignie.*—40, 41. *Nome* ie recitera[y] a vous promptement, d'Hand, de Fingre, de *Mayleus.*—44. *Sans vostre honeus d'Elbow.*—45, 46. *de ie d'Elbow*, de Nick, & de Sin : com[m]ent appelle[z] vous *les* pied & *de roba.*—47. *Le Foot Madame, & le*—48-54. *Le Foot, & le Count* : O Seigneur Dieu, *il* sont *le* mots de son mauvais corruptible *grosse* & impudique, & non pour le[s] Dames de Hon[n]eur d'vser : Ie ne *voudray pronouncer* ce[s] mots deuant le[s] Seigneurs de France, pour *toute* le monde, fo[h] le Foot & le Count, neant *mays*, Ie recitera[y] vn[e] *autrefois* ma lecon ensemb[le], d'Hand, de Fingre, de Nayles, d'Arma, d'Elbow, de Nick, de Sin, de Foot, *le*—56. *asses* pour vne *foyes*, al[l]ons nous a di[s]ner].

ACT III. SC. v.

11. *du*].

ACT III. SC. vii.

13. *ch'ha :*—14. *volante*—*chas*—62, 63. *vernissement est la leuye*].

ACT IV. SC. i.

33. *Che vous la ?*].

ACT IV. SC. ii.

2. Monte[z à]—*Verlot*—5. *ewes & [la]*—6. Rien puis *le air & [le]*—7. *Cein*].

ACT IV. SC. iv.

2. *le Gentilhom[m]e de bon[ne] qualitee*.—11. *prenez miserecordie aye[z] pitez*—15. *le*—19. *perdonne*—23. *Escoute[z]*—24. *Mounsieur*—31. *Mounsieur*—32, 33. *a vous dire que vous faite[s] vous prest, car ce soldat icy est disposee tout asture de coupes*—37, 38. *ma pardonner, Je suis le Gentilhom[m]e de bon[ne] maison, garde[z]*—47-49. *e[s]t contrason lurement, de pardonner aucune prisonn[i]er : neantmo[i]ns pour les escues que vous layt a promets, il est content a vous donnee le*—50-53. *se vous donnee milles remerciours, et Je me estime heure[u]x que Je intombe, entre les main[s]. d'un Cheualier Je pense le plus braue valiant et tres distinie signieur*—61. *Saue*].

ACT IV. SC. v.

2. *signeur le iour e[s]t perdia, toute e[s]t perdie*—3. *Mor Dieu*].

ACT v. SC. ii.

107. *Pardonne[z]*—114. *plein[es]*—130. *hon[n]eur*—176, 179. *Je quand sur*—179. *aves*—185, 186. *hon[n]eur, le Francois quez vous parlez, il & melieus*—212. *Maistee aue fause*—213. *Damoiseil*—245-247. *Laisse[z] mon Seigneur, laissez[z], laissez[z], may foy : Je ne veus point que vous abbaiss[i]e[z] vostre grondeus, en baisant le main d'une [de] nostre Seigneur[ie] indignie serviteur[e] excuse[z]*—250, 251. *Damoisel[le]s pour estre baisee[s] deuant leur[s] nocces il ne[s]t pas le co[u]stume*—253. *le[s]*—254. *buisse*].

NOTES.

THE TEXT of this edition is a revision of F1. In some cases the readings of the Qq. and the later Ff., or the emendations of modern editors, have been adopted. On referring to the notes, the reader will learn the source from which each alteration of the text has been derived. As the members of the New Shakspeare Society have in their possession the parallel-text edition of *Henry V.*, I have not noticed the readings of the Qq. and the later Ff., when the text of F1 presented no difficulty. As a general rule, I have annotated those lines only which are considered, whether justly or not, to require emendation or explanation. The readings and conjectures recorded in these notes are mostly taken from the *Variorum Shakspeare*, ed. 1821, and the *Cambridge Shakspeare*. A few sources of *Henry V.*, which escaped me when writing the Introduction, are given in the Notes.

Additions to the Text, whether consisting of sentences, words, or letters, are enclosed in brackets. *Emendations* are marked by an obelus.

The Punctuation has been, necessarily, revised throughout. As to this matter, I can only say that no wanton changes have been made. Generally, the punctuation has been rather supplemented than diminished; those stops only which obscured the sense being removed.

The Scansion of the Lines—so far as it is affected by the retention or omission of the *-ed* in preterites and past participles—was, as a rule, attended to in the old editions. I have silently corrected the few oversights that occur. An unusual pronunciation of a word, rendered necessary by the metre, is, in this edition, marked with an accent.

Spelling and Capitals.—I have—except in a few instances, duly recorded in the Notes—left the historical, old spelling precisely as it stands in F1.¹

Moreover, I have not laid my editorial axe to the stately Capitals, towering dispersedly, like great forest-trees, above their fellows, in order to reduce all to the dull, orderly, plantation-like aspect of a modern printed page.² To me, and to some perhaps of those who may use this edition, such artless variety is pleasant. I say 'artless,' for I cannot feel assured that Mr. Paton is right in

¹ No one wants to see Shakspeare's bust in a billycock hat and a shooting jacket. Why should folk want to see his words in modern garb?—F.

² '... the old Forest-like Text, bristling with suggestion, being now reduced [in modern editions] to something like a treeless prairie.'—*Macbeth*, ed. A. P. Paton, p. viii.

supposing that Shakspeare himself distinguished by capitals those words which have more significance than the rest.

The Hyphens are so much a part of the old spelling that one could hardly, in consistency, remove them. So, even when they give an unfamiliar look to a word, e. g. *awk-ward* (II. iv. 85), they have been retained. On the other hand, I have never inserted a hyphen in accordance either with my own taste or modern usage.

Contractions, such as 'whē,' 'L.,' have been expanded thus: 'when,' 'L[ord].' Since the common contractions 'y^e' and '&' are not likely to cause even a momentary embarrassment to the reader, they have been left, for the same reason which dictated the preservation of the hyphens.

The Stage Localities given by former editors have been adopted in this edition. I have selected such of them as seemed, in my judgment, most probable, not taking them from any one edition of *Henry V.* exclusively.

The Stage Directions of F1 have, as far as possible, been followed, their deficiencies being made good by means of the Qq., the additions of modern editors, and, to some slight extent, by my own conjectures.

The Names of the Characters usually appear here with the old spelling and irregularities. For *King*, which throughout the play serves for a marginal name to the speeches of both Henry V. and Charles VI., I have substituted, in accordance with modern usage, *K. Hen.* and *Fr. King*. For particulars concerning these three last-named matters, the reader is referred to the Notes.

A Paragraph (§) marks a change in the speaker's address.

For many valuable notes and suggestions, as well as timely warnings, received during the progress of this edition, my sincere thanks are due to Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, Mr. F. J. Furnivall, and Mr. P. A. Daniel.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ. Not in Ff. or Qq. First given by Rowe, and improved by subsequent editors.

PROLOGUE. Enter Prologue] Ff. The actor who recited the choruses seems to have been commonly spoken of as the 'Prologue.' Decker's gallant is advised not to present himself 'on the stage, especially at a new play, until the quaking Prologue hath by rubbing got colour into his cheeks, and is ready to give the trumpets their cue that he is upon the point to enter,' &c.—*Gull's Hornbook*, chap. vi. p. 34, ed. 1862. Colgrave has: 'Avantioüeur. A Prologue, he that beginneth, or playeth before, the game, Enterlude, or Comedie.' The choruses are not in the Qq.

9. *The flat unraysed Spirits, that hath dared*] Rowe, and most of the editors who succeeded him, read: *Spirit that hath*; adopting *Spirit* from F4. Staunton, the Cambridge editors, and Dyce, read: *Spirits that have*. I prefer the supposition that the *Spirits* are the actors. This accords somewhat with the deprecatory allusions in the choruses to the poverty of the stage appliances. The Ff. read *hath*, i. q. *habbeth*, an instance of the Southern Early English plural in *-eth*. See the illustrations of this inflection in Abbott's *Sh. Gram.*, par. 334, to which

may be added the following one from Chester's *Loves Martyr* (New Sh. Soc.), p. 15 :

And you whose dull Imagination,
And blind conceited Error *hath* not knowne, &c.

22. *perillous narrow*] There is no stop between *perillous* and *narrow* in the Ff. I take *perillous narrow* to be a compound phrase, not two distinct epithets; *perillous* having either an adverbial force, or being, as Steevens supposed, equivalent to *very*. He quoted from the preface to the 1st ed. of Florio's *Montaigne*: 'in this *perilous crook'd* passage.' He also cited: 'She is *perilous crafty*,' in the *Humourous Lieutenant*, Act III. Sc. ii. (*peilous* F1, *perilous* F2). Compare *Hudibras*, I. i. 623, 624 :

'Thus was th' accomplish'd Squire endu'd
With gifts and knowledge, *per'lous shrewd*.'

Steevens, in his note, had called *perillous narrow* 'burlesque and common language,' but Monck Mason could not believe that Shakspeare intended to make a burlesque phrase of it. He proposed to place a comma between *perillous* and *narrow*: thus making *perillous* suggestive of the dangers of the sea, which its narrowness enhanced. Malone punctuated as M. Mason advised.

ACT I.

Scene i.

The Stage Localities, in this as well as in Shakspeare's other plays, have been added by his modern editors. Theobald laid this and the next scene at Kenilworth. Although the tennis balls' incident in Sc. ii. occurred at Kenilworth, the parliament was held at Leicester. As Shakspeare has combined these events, it seems better, with Pope, to fix upon London, where, unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, we may generally assume that Shakspeare's scenes are laid. The Entry in F1, 2 runs thus: *Enter the two Bishops of Canterbury and Ely*. F3, 4 omit *two*. The marginal names are *Bish. Cant.* and *Bish. Ely* to l. 60; afterwards *B. Ely* and *B. Cant.* to the end.

9—19. *For . . . th' yeere*] The passage referred to by Shakspeare when writing these lines is evidently not the one which I have, through an oversight, quoted in the Introduction to this ed., p. viii, but the following: 'The effect of which supplication [for the revival of the bill presented at Westminster in 1410] was, that the temporall lands deuoutlie giuen, and disordinatlie spent by religious, and other spirituall persons, should be seized into the kings hands, sith the same might suffice to mainteine, to the honor of the king, and defense of the realme, fiftene earles, fiftene hundred knights, six thousand and two hundred esquiers, and a hundred almshouses, for reliefe onelie of the poore, impotent, and needie persons, and the king to haue cleerlie to his coffers twentie thousand pounds,' &c.—*Ch.* 545/2/16. From *Hall*, p. 49. Observe 'fiftene earles,' and correct my note (*Introd.* viii. note 1) accordingly.

15, 16. *And . . . toyke*] I follow the Ff. in putting a comma after *Laxars*,

and leaving *age* *Of* unpunctuated. Editors have often placed a comma after *age*. I understand *weake . . . toyle* to refer to one class of persons, namely, those who are poor, and, on account of their age, unable to work. Distinct from such are the lepers. One can hardly suppose that a third class of destitute folk is spoken of in l. 16, yet a preceding comma seems to convey that meaning. For the omission of *the* before *weake age*, there are many parallel instances in Shakespeare, as may be seen on reference to Schmidt's *Sh. Lex.* s. v. *The*, p. 1202, col. 2.

34. *currance*] So F1; *currant* F2, 3; *current* F4. Editors have usually followed F4. Knight (*Companion Sh.*, 1854, the edition referred to in these notes), and the Cambridge editors, restored the reading of F1. Dr. Nicholson considers that *currant* is, in its specific form, more active than *current*, and that the substitution of *ce* for *t* makes *currance* more active than *currant*. The highly agential *currance* accords better with the metaphor in ll. 33, 34 than either *current* or *currant*.

86. *seueralls*] Pope printed *several*, a reading preferred by M. Mason. But see Abbott's *Sh. Gram.*, par. 433, and compare *Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 180.

ACT I.

Scene ii.

The Entry in the Ff. runs thus: *Enter the King, Humfrey, Bedford, Clarence, Warwick, Westmerland, and Exeter.* In the Qq.: *Enter King Henry, Exeter, 2. Bishops, Clarence, and other Attendants.* For the marginal name *King*, I have, here and elsewhere, substituted the usual *K. Hen.* Throughout this scene the varieties *B. Cant.*, *B. Can.*, *Bish. Cant.*, and *Bish. Can.* have been uniformly changed to *Cant.* Instead of *Ely* (l. 115) the Ff. read *Bish. Bish. Ely*, the marginal name at l. 166, has been replaced by *West.* The Qq. have *Lord. Capell*, on Holinshed's authority (see *Introduction*, p. ix), assigned ll. 166—173 to Westmoreland. Warburton gave these lines to Exeter, and the following speech to Ely.

6. The Entry in the Ff. is: *Enter two Bishops.*

22. *our*] So Ff. Capell, Malone, and Dyce (ed. 3, the edition referred to in these notes), read *the* with the Qq.

27, 28. *wrongs giues edge unto the Swords*] F1 has: *wrongs giues*; F2, 3, 4: *wrong giues*. There are many instances in F1 of the Northern plural in *-es*. See them in Abbott's *Sh. Gram.*, par. 333; and compare Chester's *Loves Martyr* (New Sh. Soc. ed.), pp. 15, 25, 116, 136, and 138. But *wrongs* may perhaps be regarded as singular in thought, and equivalent to *injustice*. In the Ff. the next line runs thus: *That makes such waste, &c.* Either this is another example of the plural *-s*, or—as Dr. Abbott supposes—of a singular verb taken by the relative to a plural antecedent. See *Sh. Gram.*, par. 247. The following lines in Chester's *Loves Martyr*, p. 25, also admit either of these explanations:

'Faure running Riuers that the Countrie fills,
Sweet flowers that faure balmy Deau distils,' &c.

36. *That owe your selues, your lines, and seruices*] So Ff. Pope (ed. 2, the edition referred to in these notes), Johnson and Steevens (ed. 2, the edition referred to in these notes), and Malone, followed the Qq., which read: *Which owe your lines, your faith and seruices*. But *your selues* stands in apposition to *lines and seruices*. You owe *yourselves*: that is to say, speaking more precisely, *your lives and seruices*.

38. *succedant*] F2, 3, 4. *succedant* F1.

40. *glose*] Cf. Ch. 545/2/52: 'Which the French glossers expound to be the realme of France,' &c. In the corresponding passages in Hall, p. 50, the pp. *glosed* and the substantives *glosers* and *glose* occur, with the qualifying words *fully*, *deceitful*, and *euell*. Further on we have 'the land Salicque, which the *glose* calleth Fraunce.' And 'master *Gloser*, or rather master Doctor commenter, yf I may' call a commenter an open lier,' &c.

Gloss never occurs in F1. That edition has 'glose,' vb. = *flatter* in *Richard II.*, II. i. 10. Also: 'glozes,' sb.—*Lovè's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 370; 'glose,' vb.—*Titus Andronicus*, IV. iv. 35; and 'glozed,' pp.—*Troilus and Cressida*, II. ii. 165. In these cases sophistical reasoning is meant, and 'gloze,' vb., in *Pericles*, I. i. 110 (F3), has the same force. It should be noted that 'gloze' in this line, and 'glozed' in *Troilus and Cressida*, are accompanied by the adverbs 'vniustly,' and 'superficially.'

44. Cf. Ch. 545/2/54: 'Whereas yet their owne authors affirme, *that the land Salike is in Germanie*.'

45, 52. *Elue*] So F1, 2. *Elwe* F3, 4. *Elbe* Ch. 545/2/56. *Elue* Hall, p. 50. *Elue* Taylor's Trauels, p. 78 (Works, 1630, Spenser Soc. repr. p. 562).

57. Mr. Rolfe, in a note on this line in his ed. of *Henry V.*, has drawn attention to the fact, hitherto unnoticed, that 426 subtracted from 805 leaves 379, not 421. Shakspeare copied Holinshed, the latter followed Hall. Dr. Nicholson remarked: 'The error evidently arose from seeing that the hundreds gave a difference of 400, and then taking the odd 5 from 26 instead of 26 from 5.'

65. Cf. Ch. 545/2/71. 'Moreouer, it appeareth by their owne writers, that *King Pepine, which deposed Childerike*,' &c.

72. *find*] I retain the reading of the Ff., supposing 'find' to mean: *trace out*. See Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*, s. v. 'Find.' Hugh Capet's pretended succession to Charlemaine's [Charles the Bald's] daughter, and her real descent from Charles the Great, are the 'shewes of truth' in the title: truth and falsity blended together. Johnson once suggested 'line,' *decorate, strengthen*; but would afterwards have retained *find*, believing that it meant: *to find a verdict*. Knight restored *find*, explaining it as Johnson did. The Cambridge editors read *find*. Walker (*Crit. Exam.*, ii. 64) includes *find* amongst the cases in which final *d* and final *e* were confounded. 'Fine'—the reading of the Qq., introduced by Pope, and often adopted by editors—might stand if we could be sure that it meant, as Steevens supposed, to *make showy or specious*. His reading and interpretation receive some support from the parallel passage in the *Chronicles*, 546/1/4: 'to make his title seeme true, and appeare good, though indeed it was starke nought.' Other conjectures are: 'fine,' *refine; improve* (Warburton); 'fine,' *purify*, as

liquors are (M. Mason); 'found,' *establissh* (Collier MS.); 'fend,' or 'fence,' *protect* (Anon.). According to Evelyn (*Silva*, Bk. I. ch. v.) the shavings of the beech were used 'for the fining of wines.' Dr. Nicholson—who pointed out this passage to me—considers that it supports Mason's explanation of 'fine;' the 'shewes of truth' being the shavings that are designed—though ineffectually—to 'fine the otherwise muddy statement, and pass it off.'

74. *Lingard* Ff. *Lingard* Ch. 546/1/6; *Lynyard* Hall, p. 51. So *Ermengare* (l. 82) is *Ermengard* in Ch. 546/1/14, and Hall, p. 51.

94. *imbarre* So F1, 2. *imbar* F3, 4. *imbace* . . . causes Q1, 2. *embrace* Q3. Pope read: *openly imbrace*. Theobald's reading, *imbare* = 'lay open, display to view,' was suggested to him by Warburton. Rowe perhaps led the way to this by reading (ed. 1) *make bare*. 'Imbare' was adopted by Johnson and Steevens—though the latter produced inferences against it—and also by Malone, Halliwell, Delius, Dyce, and other editors. Knight, and the Cambridge editors, retained *imbar*. The former thought that *imbar*, 'bar in, secure,' was opposed to *bar*, 'obstruct.' The French 'would hold up the Salique law, "to bar your highness," hiding "their crooked titles" in a net, rather than amply defending them.' Some one suggested to him that *imbar* might mean "'to set at the bar"—to place their crooked titles before a proper tribunal.' 'Imbarre' cannot, as Knight supposed, mean *bar in, secure*, because Chicheley insists upon the fact that, in default of a valid proof of their titles, the French kings were obliged to rely on a fictitious defence which did not bear examination. But 'imbarre' = *bar, obstruct*, is, I think, in harmony with the context. Chicheley had shown that the French kings had, on three several occasions, deduced their titles through female links, although it was asserted that, in consequence of the Salic law, a woman could not transmit a title to the throne. Nevertheless, they chose 'to hide them in a Net,' that is, to resort to this *transparent* shelter, the Salic law, rather 'then amply to imbarre their crooked Titles,' by admitting its baselessness. For, granting the supposititious character of the Salic law, a direct descent from Isabella, daughter of Philip IV., elder son of Philip III., gave Henry a better title to the throne than the French kings could derive from Charles de Valois, the younger son. As an illustration of the precise sense which I attach to 'imbarre,' the following lines from Donne's 'Anatomy of the World' (*Poems*, p. 215, ed. 1650) are here quoted:—

'If this commerce 'twixt heaven and earth were not

Embarr'd, and all this traffique quite forgot,

She, for whose losse we have lamented thus,

Would worke more fully, and pow'rfully on us:' &c.

98. Chicheley's authority is peremptorily set aside by Maistre Nicolle Gilles. 'Maistre Raoul de pitelles,' in the comments upon his translation of Augustine's *City of God*, bk. iii. chap. 21, and bk. v. chap. 25, remarked that Augustine severely condemned the law which prevented daughters from inheriting their father's and mother's property, but had afterwards said that he did not mean to speak thus of 'successions des royaumes, principautes & grands seigneuries qui ont regard gouuernement & administration de la chose publique, sicomme dit

Thomas valensis. A quoy saccordent Franciscus de maronis : & soult a lobiecton que on pourroit faire des filles de Saphat, dont (*dout orig.*) la Bible parle ou vingt & sixiesme chapitre du liure des Nombres. Et dit que royaulme nest pas proprement heredite, mais est digne : regardant ladministration de toute la chose publique. Or est certain que les femmes ne sont pas capables de dignite ne de telle administration, comme est le gouvernement dung tel royaulme, & par consequent ne doiuent pas succeder a royaulme.—Gilles's *Annales & Chroniques de France*, ed. 1552, fol. xxii.

99. *man*] So Ff. *sonne* Qq. 'Man' agrees better with the reference to *Num.* xxvii. 8, allowing for a synecdoche. Understand : 'and have no son.'

114. *cold for action*!] That is, 'cold for want of action.' Malone's explanation. Deighton compares *All's Well*, I. ii. 16, 17, and *Macbeth*, I. v. 37. See note on this line in his ed. of *Henry V.*, p. xiii.

119. *Runs*] So Ff. See note on I. ii. 27, 28.

131. *Blood*] F4. *Blouds* F2. *Bloud* F3. Chicheley, in his reply to the proposals of the French ambassadors, said that Henry would, if his demands were not satisfied, 'enter into France, and destroe the people, waste the countrie, and subuert the townes *with blood, sword, and fire*,' &c.

150. *brim fulness*] The Ff., and modern editors, divide the words. Pope (ed. 2) printed 'brim-fulness.' The Qq. have not the line. Johnson, quoting ll. 148—150 in his *Dictionary*, ed. 1785, printed 'BRIMFULNESS, *n. s.* [from *brimful*.] Fulness to the top.'—He used for his Dictionary a copy of Warburton's *Shakespeare*. See Boswell's note, p. 91, vol. xiii. *Var. Sk.*, 1821.—P. A. D.—The O. Eng. 'brim,' *ferce*, suits the metaphor well, for it adds the idea of *fury* to that of *volume*, expressed by 'ample' and 'fulness.' *Brim*, in this sense, was not obsolete in Shakspere's time. See the word in Nares's *Glossary*. Compare also the quotations following, sent me by Mr. Daniel :

'... neuer bore so *brymme* nor tost so hot.'—*Roister Doister*, IV. vi.

'If occasion serue, takyng his parte full *brim*,

I will strike at you, but the rappe shall light on him.'—*Ibid.*

'Break up the pleasure of my *brimful* breast.'—A. Brewer, *Lingua*, I. i.

'To the left wing he assigned sir John Sauage, who had brought thither with him a crue of right able personages, clad in white coats and hoods, which mustered in the eies of their aduersaries right *brimlie*.'—*Ch.* 755/2/49.

163. *And make her Chronicle*] *their Chronicle* Ff. *Filling your Chronicles* Qq. *his chronicle* Rowe, and Pope. *your chronicle* Johnson and Steevens, and Malone. *your chronicles* (Qq.) Knight. Dr. Nicholson would retain *their*, as referring both to the Chronicle of King Edward, and of his people; *her* being, in his opinion, a contradiction to the preceding line, as though the Chronicle were that of the people only. But Chicheley's object is to show what England can do when her kings are absent. To add to the fame which Edward III. won when King John of France became his prisoner, she sent him a gift hardly less precious—the King of Scots. The praise of this was her's; the fame was Edward's, but only as a gift from her. All the preceding pronouns refer to England. *Her* was proposed by Johnson, and adopted by Capell, Dyce, and the Cambridge editors.

Johnson remarked : ' *Your* and *their*, written by contraction *yr*, are just alike, and *her*, in the old hands, is not much unlike *yr*. I believe we should read *her* chronicle.'—*Variorum Sh.* xvii. 276.

167, 168. One line in Ff. Capell first arranged as two lines. L. 168, *begin* Ff. *begin* F2, 3, 4. In the *Famous Victories of Henry V.* this distich is cited by the earl of Oxford.

173. *tains*] *tame* Ff. *spoyle* Qq. Theobald made the emendation *taint*, which was adopted by Johnson and Steevens. Pope, and the Cambridge editors, followed Rowe (ed. 2) in reading *tear*. Rowe (ed. 1), Malone, Knight, and Dyce, printed the reading of the Qq. *tame* is a more likely misprint for *taint* than for *tear*. Theobald thus defended his emendation : 'It is not much the quality of the mouse to tear the food it comes at, but to run over it and defile it.'—*Variorum Sh.* xvii. 277. Tearing gives one the idea of a larger animal than a weasel, but Theobald did not observe that l. 172 is parenthetical, the mouse's boldness 'in absence of the Cat' being merely an additional illustration. However, the following quotation from Shakspeare's encyclopædia, Batman's tr. of Bartholomeus *de Proprietatibus Rerum*, ll. 18 and 74, shows that the weasel is a very filthy beast : ' "for their [the weasels] preuie chose [pudēda, Lat. orig.] stinketh right foul. . . . His biting is malicious and venomous, and his urine stinketh as the urine of the mouse." . . . "The Wesell . . . a meruailous stinking beast if he be pursued. *Additū*.' " Dr. Nicholson—who sent me this quotation—added : 'The weasel, Bartholomeus says, takes the eggs of sparrows and other small birds, but that he goes into the eagle's nest is, so far as I know, a figment or addition of Shakspeare's brain.' Dr. Nicholson, I should remark, prefers reading *spoyle* in l. 173.

175. *crush'd*] So Ff. Retained by Knight, Delius, and Singer. *curst* Qq. Conjectural readings are given in the *Cambridge Sh.* iv. 502. Knight also records : *crash*, sc. *crass* Coleridge ; *cur's* Anon. Pope, Johnson and Steevens, Malone, and Dyce, followed the Qq. 'Curst' = *unfortunate, perverse*, does not suit the context of the line, unless, as M. Mason suggested, *not* is substituted for *but*. On the other hand, *crush'd*, rightly understood, makes good sense. Exeter answers that Westmoreland's necessity—the cat must stay at home—is but a 'crush'd,' that is, a *strained* or *forced* conclusion, since we have locks and traps. This is Singer's and Schmidt's interpretation. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II. v. 152. According to Knight : 'The necessity alledged by Westmoreland is *overpowered*, crush'd, by the argument that we have "locks" and "pretty traps ;" so that it does *not* follow that "the cat must stay at home."'

180. *though*] Keightley proposed *through*. But *though* . . . *parts* is parenthetical, and may be thus explained. Though government, being 'put into parts,' that is, analyzed, can be resolved into 'high, and low, and lower,' yet, viewed as a whole, it 'doth keep in one consent.' Further, Dr. Nicholson suggested to me that '*high*, and *low*, and *lower*,' answers to *alto*, *tenor*, and *base*. This completes the comparison of a well-ordered state to harmonious music. See the quotation from Cicero *De Republica*, in the Introduction, p. ix, note 3.

181. *consent*] So Ff. and Qq. Malone read *concent*. This is, doubtless, the

true spelling, but 'consent' formerly meant either *musical harmony* or *unanimity*. In Minshew's ed. of Percivale's *Dictionarie*, 1623, we find: 'to Consent or agree, vide Consentir, Permittir;' 'to Consent in musicke, v. Concordár, Acordár, Concertár, Convenir.' And: 'Acórde, m. agreement, consenting in opinions, or in musicall harmonie.' In Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*, III. iv., Apelles says: 'For as in garden knots, diversity of odours make a more delicate savour, or as, in musick, divers strings cause a more delicate consent,' &c. So, in Spenser's *Virgil's Gnat*, xxix.: 'Chaunted their sundrie tunes with sweete consent,' &c. On the other hand, in the *Faerie Queene*, IV. ii. 2, we have: 'Such musicke is wise words with time *concented*,' &c. *Consent* was evidently an accepted spelling, and also, I suspect, a commoner one.

182. *Congreeing*] So Ff. *Congruith* Qq. Pope read *congruing*. Roquefort gives: 'CONGRÉER, *congreger*: Se convenir, agréer ensemble, . . . *congregare*.' And Cotgrave: 'Se Congrээр. To congeale, thicken, curd, close, gather, compact together.' Perhaps, however, Shakspeare made the word by analogy with *agree*.

189. *Act*] The Qq. read:

creatures that by owe

Ordaine an act of order to a peopeld kingdome.

For *Act*, Pope substituted *art*, a reading often followed. 'The Act of Order' means: *the accomplishment of order*. Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, III. ii. 96. And see other examples of the like sense in Schmidt's *Sh. Lex.* s. v. 'Act (2).'

197. *Maiesties*] So Ff. Knight retained *majesties*. *maiestie* Qq., a reading adopted by Rowe and subsequent editors. *Plenties*, the Ff. reading in V. ii. 35, retained by Malone, Knight, and the Cambridge editors, may be compared with *Maiesties*. By 'Maiesties' I understand *kingly occupations*. Although the king may be said, speaking generally, to have only one occupation, namely, the supervision of his subjects, yet each of the several classes enumerated in ll. 198—203 might require a special kind of attention.

207—210. I have followed the text and arrangement of the Ff. The Qq. read:

As many Arrowes losed severall wayes, flye to one marke:

As many severall wayes meete in one towne:

As many fresh streames run in one selfe sea:

As many lines close in the dyall center.

Capell, Johnson and Steevens, and Malone, followed the text of the Qq., and made two lines respectively of *flye* . . . *marke* and *As many* . . . *towne*. This text and arrangement of lines was adopted by Dyce, with the substitution of *streets* for *wayes* in l. 208, and the retention of *salt* (Ff.) instead of *selfe* in l. 209. The reading *street* was suggested to Dyce by W. N. Lettsom, who compared the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. v., last lines:

'This world's a city full of straying *streets*,

And death's the market place where *each one meets*.'

212. *End*] (Qq.) Pope. *And* Ff.

221. [Exeunt some Attendants.] Capell's stage direction.

233. *waxen Epitaph*] So Ff. *paper Epitaph* Qq. Malone adopted the

reading of the Qq. He argued that the *paper Epitaph* was the record of the king's exploits in the English chronicles; not a funeral memorial, a kind of honour which Henry had disclaimed. See Malone's note in the *Variorum Sh.* xvii. 283, 284. Gifford, in a note upon Ben Jonson's elegy on Lady Jane Pawlet (Ben Jonson's *Works*, ed. Gifford, ix. 58, 59), asserted that a *waxen epitaph* was a short laudatory poem or epitaph, which the friends of the deceased affixed, with pins, wax, paste, &c., to his hearse or grave. Gifford speaks of this as being a prevalent custom on the continent in his day, and adds that it was formerly so in England. He quotes from Eliot's elegy on Lady Pawlet:

'Let others, then, sad Epitaphs invent,

And *paste* them up about thy monument,' &c.—*Poems*, p. 39.

And from the bishop of Chichester's [Henry King's] verses to the memory of Dr. Donne:

'Each quill can drop his tributary verse,

And *pin* it, like the Hatchments to the Hearse:' &c.

Donne's *Poems*, 1650, sign. B b.

He concludes, therefore, that Henry desired either to live in history, or 'lie in an undistinguished grave,' . . . 'unhonoured even by a waxen epitaph, *i. e.* by the short-lived compliment of a paper fastened on it.' Douce considered *waxen* to be the *pp.* of the verb *wax*, and a 'waxen epitaph,' therefore, to be 'a *long* or *protracted* one, such as a king would expect.'—*Illustrations of Shakspeare*, p. 298, ed. 1839. I incline to accept Stevens's explanation; that 'waxen' is a metaphorical synonym for *transient*, *perishable*. We may, perhaps, compare *Henry V.* IV. iii. 97. In that case Henry does not, I apprehend, merely hope for a memorial tablet in brass, but for fame, durable as brass.

233. [Enter . . . France.] So Ff. *Enter Thambassadors from France* Qq.

243. *is*] So Ff. *are* Qq. The chief thought in Henry's mind was his 'grace' as a Christian king, to which his 'passion,' he says, is subject. The auxiliary verb in his comparison became singular by attraction. Or, 'is our wretches' may be one of the cases concerning which Dr. Abbott says: 'When the subject is as yet future, and, as it were, unsettled, the third person singular might be regarded as the normal inflection.' See the examples in his *Sh. Gram.* par. 335; and compare 'The French *is* in the field,' in the Q. of *Henry V.* (New Sh. Soc.), IV. iii. 50.

245. *than*] So Ff. Then = than, and than = then, were formerly alternative spellings.

248. *Edwárd*] This pronunciation occurs in 1 *Henry VI.* II. v. 76.

255. [He . . . Balles.] This is the stage direction in the corresponding passage in the *Famous Victories of Henry V.* The archbishop of Bourges says to the king: 'My Lord Prince Dolphin greets you well, With this present.' Then follows the stage direction as above, 'What,' cries Henry, 'a gilded Tunne?' At the king's request the duke of York examines the Dauphin's gift, and finds it to be 'a Carpet and a Tunne of Tonnis balles.' Henry doesn't see the joke, and asks for an explanation. The archbishop hesitates (cf. ll. 237, 240), the king assures him that by the 'law of Armes' he may

declare his message, and the archbishop thereupon expounds Prince Dolphin's conceit.

270. *hence*] So Ff. Hanmer read *here*. Warburton, and Steevens, retained *hence*. The former considered that 'living hence' meant *living as if absent from England*; the latter believed it to mean *withdrawing from the court*. 'Hence' = *far away*, opposed to *here*. Compare: 'Freedom lives *hence*, and banishment is *here*.'—*Lear*, I. i. 184. See also other instances in Schmidt's *Sh. Lex.*, s. v. 'Hence (3).' The context (II. 269—280) shows clearly, I think, that Mr. W. N. Lettsom's explanation is the true one: 'Henry means that poor beggarly England was not his home, but that France was.' Henry spoke ironically, as, indeed, he strove to do from the opening of his speech to l. 281, when he gave the reins to his anger.

297. [Exeunt Ambassadors.] So Ff. Not in Qq.

299. [Descends . . . throne.] Malone's stage direction. At l. 221 he has: *Exit an Attendant. The King ascends his Throne.*

310. [Exeunt.] So Ff. *Exeunt omnes* Qq.

ACT II.

Chorus.

[Flourish. Enter Chorus.] So Ff. Pope placed this Chorus before Act II. sc. ii. See Introduction, p. c, and note 4.

20. *But see, thy fault France . . . out,*] This is the punctuation of the Ff. Capell introduced the punctuation usually followed since: *But see thy fault! France . . . out A nest, &c.*

31, 32. *and we'll digest, &c.*] So F1, 2. *we'll* F3, 4. At the end of l. 32, I have substituted a period for the colon of the Ff. Pope read *well* instead of *we'll*, and inserted the words *while we* before *force*. These emendations were adopted by Johnson and Steevens, Malone, and Dyce. Other conjectures are: *you'll digest . . . for we'll force* Lloyd; *distance, and so force* Collier MS.; *distance; foresee* Staunton. Warburton proposed: *distance, while we farce*. If 'force' = *farce*, its spelling need not therefore be altered. We still speak of *forcement*. Cf. also *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 232, and V. i. 64. Knight, and the Cambridge editors, followed the Ff., but the latter (in the *Globe* ed.) marked these lines as corrupt. Assuming their genuineness and purity, these lines evidently form an apology to the spectator for the violation of the unity of place. He is asked to 'digest,' that is, *take in good part*, 'th' abuse of distance,' for, it is admitted, 'force' must be applied to the play, or, rather, to his sense of the fitness of things.

Dr. Ingleby compares the apology in the chorus before the second part of *Winter's Tale* with that offered by Shakspeare here, remarking: 'In the former case the play is *forced* over a gap of sixteen years, in the latter over the English Channel. The notion may have been a floricultural one, or simply that of breaking through a unity.'

Dr. Nicholson says: 'I fancy that Jonson's (or Johnson', as he first wrote himself) classical views, as to the laws and form of a play, were either then influencing others—the educated public—or Shakspeare himself, and the latter therefore gave in to the Chorus, and apologised for his violations of the unities, forcing the events of months and years into a two or three hours' representation. Jonson was afterwards made to "beray himself" by Shakspeare, and in 1603 his *Sejanus* failed.'

41. *But till . . . come*] So Ff. *But when . . . comes* Hanmer. 'But till' may = *only when*. Malone thought that *but* and *not* in l. 41 should be transposed. These words were sometimes confounded. Thus, *but* occurs instead of *not* in the Q. (1600) ed. of the *Merchant of Venice*, IV. i. 278. Adopting Malone's transposition, the meaning is: 'We will *not* shift our scene unto Southampton till the king makes his appearance on the stage, and the scene will be at Southampton *only* for the short time while he does appear on the stage; for soon after his appearance, it will change to France.'—*Variorum Sh.* xvii. 294. Dr. Nicholson accepts Malone's explanation of l. 41, but deems the transposition of *but* and *not* unnecessary. He supposes that Shakspeare—as a parenthetical afterthought—added: *and not till then*,—i. e. until the king comes forth, the scene remains at London,—referring, by these words, to the first scene of Act II. If the next scene be in its right place, and should not, as Pope supposed, precede this Chorus, the notice which ll. 41, 42 are meant to give is necessary in order to correct the expectation which ll. 34, 35 must raise in the spectator's mind. If Pope's arrangement of the scenes preceding and following this Chorus be adopted, ll. 41, 42 should, I think, be rejected, but he retained them. It has been conjectured that ll. 41, 42 belong to an earlier version of *Henry V.*, and were to have been superseded by the lines now preceding them. W. N. Lettsom believed l. 41 to be spurious.—Dyce's *Sh.* iv. 513.

ACT II.

Scene i.

[London. A street.] Capell's stage locality. The Entry is taken from Ff. The Qq. have: *Enter Nim and Bardolfe*.

5. *smiles*] So the Ff. The Qq. have not *smiles*, or the sentence in which it stands. A *smile* may have been Elizabethan slang for a *blow*; the humour of the conceit lying in its contradictoriness. Mr. Furnivall suggested to me that Nym alluded to the prefatory bow and *smile* of fencers. Hanmer adopted Warburton's suggestion that Nym pauses abruptly in his threatening, and *smiles* disdainfully. We learn from Steevens that Farmer proposed *smiles*, a Midland Counties' word. Dyce accepted this emendation. Jackson suggested *similes*.

22. *mare*] So the Qq. *name* Ff. Theobald introduced the reading of the Qq. Conjectures are: *dame* Hanmer; *jade* Collier MS.

23. [Enter Pistoll, &c.] The Entrance in the Ff is: *Enter Pistoll, & Quickly*; in the Qq.: *Enter Pistoll and Hostes Quickly, his wife*.

26—28. *Base . . . Lodgers.*] Arranged as by Johnson. Prose in Ff. In the Q. version of Act II. sc. i., Pistol's speeches are printed as verse.

32. [Nym draws] It may be well here to make a few remarks on the stage directions throughout this scene. Mrs. Quickly's exclamation (l. 33), and her entreaty (ll. 38, 39), show us that Nym draws; but it may be doubted if Pistol does so, because Mrs. Quickly's entreaty is addressed to Nym only. Pistol, I suspect, carefully husbanded his stock of bravado, and always purposed securing *safe* as well as profitable returns from its outlay. In the present case he could reasonably count upon Mrs. Quickly's—if not Bardolph's—interposition to prevent Nym from pinking him; and a due regard for a loving wife's fears furnished a very decent excuse for not following the ill-bred and inconsiderate corporal's example. Why—when verbal insults might serve the turn—commit himself to the more dangerous—and unnecessary—course of actually drawing his lethal weapon? After Pistol's *Therefore exhale* (l. 58), the Qq. have: *They draw*. In order to retain this stage direction, I have made Nym yield to his faithless love's appeal and sheathe his sword at l. 41. Besides, as Nym invites Pistol to walk off with him to a place where they may be secure from interruption, we may fairly suppose that the corporal sheathes his sword meanwhile. Bardolph interposes at l. 59, and, I presume, follows up his threat by drawing also. Most editors agree in this. Pistol is not obdurate. We know he had 'a quiet sword.' He sheathes his iron, and holds out his hand (ll. 62, 63). Nym also puts up his weapon, for further on (l. 91) we find, after a fresh misunderstanding has arisen, in the Qq. the stage direction: *They draw*; in the Ff.: *Draw*. Bardolph perhaps suspected that the truce was a hollow one, and therefore did not return his sword to the scabbard. He again interposes at l. 92, and repeats his former threat. Peace is at last restored by mutual concessions (ll. 98—109), and a general sheathing of swords, I suppose, ensues.

33. *hewne! Now*] *hewne now* Ff. (*hewn* F3, 4). I have substituted a note of admiration for the comma after *now* in the Ff. Theobald read *drawn! Now*, &c.; Hanmer, *drawn now! We*, &c. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, adopted the emendation *drawn*. The former followed Theobald's punctuation, the latter Hanmer's. Steevens proposed *hewing* instead of *hewn*, but suggested that *to be hewn* might have meant, in vulgar parlance, *to be drunk*. He compared: *To be cut*, which had the same meaning. Malone followed the reading of the Qq.: *O Lord heeres Corporall Nims* [sc. sword] *now shall We hawe*, &c. Halliwell read: *O Lord! here's corporal Nym's.—O well-a-day . . . hewn now!* It must be admitted that Theobald's emendation gives a better sense, but, on the other hand, Mrs. Quickly's next sentence (not to mention others) shows that she sometimes used words without regarding their fitness for her purpose. She certainly deserved the compliment paid by Sir Lucius O'Trigger to his imaginary Delia: 'Faith, she's quite the queen of the dictionary!—for the devil a word dare refuse coming at her call—though one would think it was quite out of hearing.'—*The Rivals*, Act II. sc. ii. Besides, if we understand that she fears lest Nym or Pistol may receive a sword-cut, *hewn* has, at least, an intelligible meaning.

35. *Good Lieutenant, good Corporal, offer nothing heere*] I have followed the

Ff. in giving this speech to Bardolph. Malone made l. 35 a continuation of Mrs. Quickly's speech. He also expanded the marginal name *Bard.*, and placed it after *lieutenant*. He urged, as an objection to the arrangement of the Ff., that Bardolph, who is himself a lieutenant (l. 2), is thus made to address Pistol by that title. '*Bardolph*,' he remarked, 'was probably an interlineation, and erroneously inserted before the words "good lieutenant," instead of being placed, as it now is, after them. Hence, he was considered as the speaker, instead of the person addressed.' Knight divided the speech, assigning *Good lieutenant Bardolph* to Mrs. Quickly, and the remainder to Bardolph. Capell read *ancient* instead of *lieutenant*, an emendation approved of, but not adopted by Steevens. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, followed the arrangement of the Ff. It must be remembered that although Pistol is generally an ancient, Falstaff addresses him in 2 *Hen. IV.*, V. v. 95, as *lieutenant Pistol*. In 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. iv., Mrs. Quickly several times styles him *captain*, but Falstaff and Bardolph call him *ancient*. And in the Qq. (*Hen. V.*, III. vi. 47), Fluellen calls him *Captain Pistoll*, and elsewhere (ll. 26, 49, cf. l. 10) *ancient*. So, also, Bardolph is a corporal in 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 166; III. ii. 235; *Hen. V.*, III. ii. 3; and a lieutenant in *Hen. V.*, II. i. 2. We must not, I think, regard seriously the military titles of Pistol and Bardolph. Falstaff's reflections (1 *Hen. IV.*, IV. ii. 25-34) form a very suggestive commentary on this question as to his followers' military rank.

Dr. Nicholson wrote to me: 'The old ranks captain, lieutenant, *ancient*, do and do not correspond with our present captain, lieutenant, and ensign. In other words, the ancient, quoad ancient of a company, ordinarily ranked with our ensign, but he might be more. In those days, when war was a trade, and men went about selling themselves either to one whose principles they preferred or to the highest bidder, once a captain, &c., always a captain or other rank. That is, one who had been a captain or lieutenant, &c., in one army, carried his rank with him, though he was not, as we would say, commissioned in this second army. He fought like the Reformados as a private soldier, awaiting preferment by a death vacancy or patronage, or by some deserving act of valour. Thus a man might be any rank and yet only an ancient of a company, especially as the ancient or guardian of the flag was a much more responsible and honourable position than it now is, as the youngest and lowest rank of all commissioned officers. We have still a remnant of this old view in the title flag-sergeant, a rank superior to an ordinary sergeant. Pistol, in his way, affords an example of this. War being declared against Hotspur, he immediately, in his bombastic fashion, though still Falstaff's ancient, assumes the insignia of a captain, to Doll's disgust: "you a captain!" says she; "with two points on your shoulder."—2 *Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 142, 143.' Dr. Nicholson also drew my attention to the fact that Iago 'hoped to have been promoted to second in command (*Othello*, I. i. 32, 33), an absurdity if he were less than a lieutenant.'

39. *your*] So F1, 2. *thy* F3, 4. A Quicklysism. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, printed *your*. Pope, and some later editors, read *thy*. Capell adopted the corresponding line in the Qq.: *shew the valour of a man, And put up your*

sword. Johnson and Steevens, and Malone, did the same, but substituted *thy* for *your*.

40. [To Hostesse.] [To Pistoll.] Nym first speaks to Mrs. Quickly, who is bestowing coaxing caresses upon him, and then turns sternly to Pistol. Dr. Nicholson suggested these stage directions to me.

42—49. *Solus . . . follow.*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff.

47. *take*] So Ff. *take* Qq. Capell, and Johnson and Steevens, followed the Qq. Malone read *take*, but considered the reading corrupt. Knight compared *I can take* with the common phrase *Do you take me?* Pistol meant: *I understand you.* M. Mason pointed out that Pistol is punning upon his name: 'Pistol's cocke is vp;' his priming will soon *take fire*.

63, 64. *Give . . . tall.*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff.

67—75. *Coupe . . . to.*] Prose in Ff., and in Rowe's editions. The parallel passage in the Qq. is printed as verse. In the Ff. l. 67 runs thus: *Coupe a gorge, that is the word. I defie thee againe.* The Qq. have: *Couple gorge is the word, I thee defie agen.* Rowe substituted *Coupe a* for *Couple a* (Ff.). The Cambridge editors retained *Couple a*. I have followed Dyce in reading *Coupe la*. (The *I* may have been accidentally separated from the *a*, and inserted in *Coupe*. The Q. parallel of IV. iv. 34 has: *couple la gorge*.) Pope printed l. 67 as prose, and read: *Coupe a gorge, that is the word. I defie thee again.* Warburton shifted *again* to the right, thus printing l. 67 as verse. Capell read: *Coupe le gorge; that's the word. I thee defie again.* Johnson and Steevens adopted *Coupe le*, retaining, for the rest of the line, the text of the Ff., and punctuating thus: *Coupe le gorge, that is the word!—I defy, &c.* Malone, and Knight, read and punctuated thus: *Coupe le gorge, that's the word!—I defy, &c.* The Cambridge editors, and Dyce, printed l. 67 as two lines, ending *gorge! again*.

ll. 68—73 are arranged as by Pope. His arrangement has been followed by all subsequent editors.

Pope gave ll. 74, 75 thus: *For th' only she; and pauca, there's enough, go to.* The Ff. read: *to go to.* This reading—retained by Rowe—was corrected by Pope. Theobald, and Warburton, followed Pope. Capell omitted *go to*, and read, with Ff., *the only*. Hanmer—who adopted Pope's reading of ll. 74, 75—first made *Go to* a separate line.

75. [Enter the Boy.] So Ff. and Qq.

77. *your*] Hanmer, and subsequent editors, observing in the Qq.: *Hostes you must come straight to my maister, And you Host Pistoll*—which is really a different sentence—read *you*. The Boy's mind is running upon the fact that the "quondam Quickly" is now Pistol's property.

78. *face*] So Ff. *nose* Qq. The latter reading was adopted by Pope, Johnson and Steevens, and Malone. Bardolph's face was fiery enough for the purpose, though, doubtless, his nose shone with a deeper glow. Cf. 1 *Hen. IV.*, III. iii. 33—59, 89—91; 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 356—362; *Hen. V.*, II. iii. 35—37; III. vi. 98—101.

83. [Exeunt . . . Boy.] *Exit* Ff. *Exeunt Hostess and Boy* Capell.

96. *to*] F2, 3, 4. *to* F1.

98, 99. *Nim. I shall . . . Betting*] So Q3. *betting* Q3. *beating* Q1, 2. These lines are not in the Ff. Capell inserted them here.

100—106. *A . . . hand.*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff.

109. *that's*] F2, 3, 4. *that* F1.

109. [Re-enter, &c.] *Enter Hostesse* Ff. *Enter Hostes* Qq.

110. *come of women.*] So F1. *came* F2, 3, 4, and Qq. Editors have generally printed *came*. Knight retained *come*. Quicklys often use an historical present, an idiom which accords well with their dramatic way of telling a story.

116, 117. *Nym . . . corroborate.*] Arranged as by Capell. Prose in Ff.

120. *for, Lambekins, we*] Thus punctuated in the Ff.: *for (Lambekins) we*. The Qq. have: *for lamkins we*. Malone omitted the stop usually placed after *Lambekins*, understanding Pistol to mean: *we will live peaceably, like lamkins*. The Cambridge editors followed Malone's punctuation. Dyce omitted the commas before and after *Lambekins*.

120. [Exeunt.] Not in Ff. *Exeunt omnes* Qq.

ACT II.

Scene ii.

The Stage Locality, *Southampton*, was inserted by Pope. He prefixed it to the second Chorus, which, in his edition, is the first scene of Act II. Malone added: *A Council-Chamber*. The Entrance is taken from the Ff. The Qq. have: *Enter Exeter and Gloster*. The marginal name, *Gray* (l. 29, *Kni*. F1, 2, 3, *Gray* F4), has been, in accordance with modern practice, uniformly spelt *Grey*. F1, 2 read *Grey* in Prol. II. l. 25. All the Ff. have the marginal name *Grey* at l. 49, and in the text at l. 150. *Gray* Qq. *Graie* Holinshed.

11. [Trumpets sound. Enter . . . Attendants.] *Sound Trumpets. Enter the King, Scroope, Cambridge, and Gray* Ff. Theobald added: *and Attendants. Enter the King and three Lords* Qq.

43. *his*] So Ff. and Qq. *our* Collier MS. Dyce, and Deighton, read *our*, agreeing with Lettsom that *Measure for Measure*, V. i. 467—469, and *Two Gent.*, II. iv. 207, 208, quoted by Singer and Delius in support of *his*, point the other way. I take it that the reviler, 'on more aduice,' i. e. *after cool reflection*, owned that he regretted his railing words, and the king thereupon pardoned him.

49. The Ff. arrange as one line *Sir, you . . . life*. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, made one line of *Sir*. Pope omitted *Sir*.

61. *late*] So Ff. and Qq. *state* Collier MS. *lords* Keightley conj. '*Late* commissioners' is usually supposed to mean *late* appointed. Rolfe compares II. iv. 31, below. In a communication to *Notes and Queries*, 5th S. xi. 22, Dr. Nicholson thus explained it: 'The alteration to *rate*, as derivable from the Latin "*ratum*—*i*, established, approved, confirmed," had once suggested itself to me. But no alteration seems required; the *Syndici lati*, or the *late* commissioners, are, I take it, the *chosen* commissioners—those who had been chosen or selected, but who had not yet received their sign-manual credentials or commissions.

Accordingly Henry proceeds to hand to them documents which they take to be the said commissions. This I believe to be one of the very few examples where Shakspeare followed a fashion of the day. The gallants coined "new-minted oaths," he adopted a new and literate etymology for words in ordinary use.'

65. *I*] So Ff. *And me my Lord* Qq. Capell first read *me*, and several subsequent editors have done so. 'And I' may be an ellipsis for *And I am one*, &c. Cf. l. 62. But many such idiomatic uses of the personal pronouns are to be found in Shakspeare, and amongst them this of *I* for *me*. Abbott says that the Elizabethans avoided the sound of *d* and *t* before *me*, and the examples he quotes support this view. See his *Sh. Gram.*, par. 209.

75. *hath*] (Qq.) F4. *have* F1, 2, 3.

87. *him*] F3, 4. *om* F1, 2.

99. *Would'st . . . use*] There is a note of interrogation after *use* in the Ff. and Q3. Pope, and some subsequent editors, retained it. *Would'st . . . use* is dependent on the preceding line, *if* being understood.

104. *As blacke and white*] So the Ff. *black from white* Qq. Capell preferred the latter reading, which has been often adopted by editors. The king, I suppose, means that in the papers he has just handed to the conspirators their treason appears in 'blacke and white,' *i. e.* in writing; although there may also be a metaphorical allusion to the contrast between black and white. These papers were, perhaps, intercepted letters written by them to the French king.

107. *in a naturall*] *an naturall* Ff. It was suggested to me by Dr. Nicholson that *an naturall* is a compositor's error for *unnaturall* or *unnatural*. The cause that they worked in—the murder of their liege lord—was unnatural, not natural. The point of ll. 102—110 is, I think, that the relation between treason and murder is too plain to excite wonder; but, in this case, astonishing ingratitude and heartlessness were associated with these crimes. The Collier MS. for *cause* (l. 107) reads *course*.

139. *marke the*] Theobald's emendation. *make thee* Ff. Theobald also read *man*, *the best* instead of *man and best*. Johnson and Steevens adopted both of these emendations. Pope substituted *the* for *and*, retained *make*, and punctuated thus: *to make the full-fraught man, the best, endow'd With*, &c. Capell proposed to read: *the . . . the best endow'd*, &c. Malone, Knight, Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, accepted Theobald's emendation *mark*, but retained *and best*.

147, 148. *Henry . . . Masham*.] So the *Chronicles*, 548/1/72. *Thomas . . . Marsham* Ff. *Henry, Lord of Masham* Qq.

159. *Which I . . . reioyce*] *I*, omitted in F1, appears in the succeeding Ff. Malone considered *Which I*, &c., to be an elliptical expression for 'at which prevention, or, which intended scheme that it was prevented, I shall rejoice.' According to Schmidt (*Sh. Lex.*, s. v. 'Rejoice'), *rejoice* is equivalent to *be joyful at*. He compared with this line *Cymbeline*, V. v. 370: 'Nere Mother reioy'd deliuerance more.' But the natural construction of that sentence is: *deliuerance ne'er rejoiced mother more*. Abbott (*Sh. Gram.*, par. 272) holds that '*which* and

"the *which*" are loosely used adverbially for "as to which." He pointed out two examples of this usage in *Rich. II.*, III. iii. 45, and V. iii. 10.

181. [Exeunt . . .] *Exit* Ff. *Exeunt* F2, 3, 4. *Exit three Lords* Qq.

193. [Flourish. Exeunt.] *Flourish* Ff. *Exeunt* F2, 3, 4. *Exit omnes* Qq.

ACT II.

Scene iii.

We may fairly conjecture that the Boar's Head was the scene of this leave-taking. See II. 42 and 56. *Enter . . . Boy, and Hostesse* Ff. At l. 30 the marginal name in the Ff. is *Woman.*, in the Qq. *Host.*

3—6. *No . . . therefore.*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff. In Capell's ed. ll. 5, 6 end: *up . . . therefore.*

11. *a finer end*] So F1, 2. F3, 4 omit *a*. Capell read: *a fine end*. M. Mason, Collier, and Walker, preferred this reading, which was adopted by Dyce. Johnson supposed that *finer* meant *final*. Malone retained *finer*, regarding it as one of the Hostess's grammatical lapses. Mr. Furnivall pointed out to me: (1) The Hostess would say, 'Falstaff didn't go to hell; he made a *finer end* than that.' (2) *A made . . . away* is a bit of metrical prose.

14, 15. *fingers end*] So Ff. *fingers ends* Qq., adopted by Capell and subsequent editors. I think that *fingers end* is here used generically for *fingers' ends*.

16. *babbled*] Theobald's emendation. *his Nose . . . and a Table of greene fields* F1, 2. *green fields* F3. *green Fields* F4. From his *Shakespeare Restored*, &c., appendix, p. 138, we learn that Theobald found in an edition of Shakspeare the following marginal conjecture, made by 'a gentleman sometime deceas'd': 'and 'a talked of green fields. Theobald's emendation derives some support from the Q. parallel version, which runs thus: 'For when I saw him fumble with the sheetes, And talk of floures, and smile vpō his fingers ends,' &c. Pope eliminated a *Table . . . fields* from the text. Assuming that Pistol and his comrades were about to take a parting glass, he believed the words to be merely a stage direction to bring in a *table of Greenfields*, who was, he conjectured, the property-man. In an appendix to his second edition of *Shakspeare*, vol. viii., Pope collected the '*attempts upon Shakspeare publish'd by Lewis Theobald.*' Concerning Theobald's emendation of II. iii. 16, he observed: '*His nose was as sharp as a pen—and a Table of green fields.*' Mr. P— omitted this latter part, because no such words are to be found in any Edition till after the Author's death. However the Restorer (Pope alluded to Theobald's *Shakespeare Restored*; or, *Specimens of Blunders committed and unamended in Pope's edition of that Author*, 1726) has a mind they should be genuine, and since he cannot otherwise make Sense of 'em, would have a meer Conjecture admitted, that it may be thus—"and 'a babbled of green Fields.'" Smith proposed to retain *Table*, substituting *fells*, i. e. skins, for *fields*. He thought that the Hostess compared Falstaff's nose (grown thin and sharp like a dying person's) to a sharp-pointed pen fixed to a

table, or table-book. *A table of green fells* was the Hostess's blunder for a table-book with a shagreen cover, or a shagreen table. *Fells*, by a compositor's error, became *fields*. The same, or a like similitude, must have occurred to Mr. Collier's MS. corrector, who read: *on a table of green friese*. Although Malone accepted Theobald's emendation, he remarked that—understanding a *pen* to mean a *pinfold*, and a *table* to signify a *picture*—he had once supposed *in* for *and* to be the only correction necessary. 'The pointed stakes of which pinfolds are sometimes formed, were perhaps in the poet's thoughts.'—*Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 320. Other conjectures are: *and a fabled of green fields* W. N. conj. apud Long MS.; or *as a stubble on shorn fields* Anon. (Fras. Mag.) conj. Theobald's emendation—whether it be the true one or not—has for more than a century deservedly retained the favour of Shakspeare's readers. It harmonizes with the tone of pathetic irony which runs through the account of Falstaff's death.

24. *upward, and upward* Ff. *upward, and upward* Qq. *upward and upward* F3, 4. *up-pear'd, and upward* F1. *upwar'd and upward* F2. *up'ard and up'ard* Grant White.

29. *Deules* Ff. *Deuils* F2, 4. *Deuils* F3. *diuels* Qq. At l. 32, *Deule* Ff. The interchange of *u* and *v* is invariable throughout Ff. In this case, however, *Deules* and *Deule*—if authentic—may have been intended to represent the Northern pronunciation of the name. In the 1604 Q. of *Hamlet* (II. ii. 628, *Globe Sh.*) we find *deale* (twice), corrected to *Diuell* in the corresponding passage in the 1603 Q.

37. *Hellfire* Ff. *Hellfire* Q1, 2. Introduced by Capell. Ff. and Q3 omit *fire*. From Bardolph's remark (II. 38, 39), one might infer that *hell-fire* was the better reading, and it happens that a witticism very similar to the one recalled by the Boy has been preserved for us in 1 *Hen. IV.*, III. iii. 35—37. It would seem that Bardolph's face reminded Falstaff not so much of hell as of what was in it, for he says: 'I never see thy face but I think upon *hell-fire* and Dives that lived in purple; for there he is in his robes, burning, burning.' Sir John's pleasant fancy further suggested to him the comparison of 'a ball of *wildfire*' and 'an everlasting *bonfire-light*.' See II. 45, 47.

42—51. *Come . . . sucke I* Arranged as by Capell. Prose in Ff. Pope made one line of II. 45, 46, *Trust . . . wafer-cakes*.

44. *world* (Q1, 3) Rowe (ed. 2). *world* (Q2) Ff.

54. [Kissing her.] Capell's stage direction, suggested by l. 55.

57. [Exeunt.] So Ff. *Exit omnes* Qq.

ACT II.

Scene iv.

[France.] Pope. [The . . . Palace.] Johnson and Steevens. [Flourish . . . others.] *Flourish*. Enter the French King, the Dolphin, the Dukes of Berry and Britaine F1. *Flourish* om. F2, 3, 4. Enter King of France, Bourbon, Dolphin, and others Qq.

1. *comes*] So Ff. See I. ii. 243 above, and the note.

46. *Which, of*] *Which of* Ff. *While of* Malone conj. *Which if* Staunton conj. *Which, of* Rann. Here 'of' = *owing to*. Cf. *Cymbeline*, IV. iii. 3: 'A madness, *of which* her life's in danger.' See other examples in Abbott's *Sh. Gram.*, par. 168, and Schmidt's *Sh. Lex.*, s. v. *Of*, p. 795, col. 1.

64. [Enter a Messenger.] So Ff.

67. [Exeunt . . . Lords.] Capell.

75. [Re-enter . . . train.] Capell. *Enter Exiter* Ff. and Qq.

75. *Brother of England*] Dyce omitted *of* here and at l. 115, because at V. ii. 2 Henry calls Charles VI. 'brother France,' and is addressed by Charles (l. 10) and Queen Isabel (l. 12) as 'brother England.' The single word *of*, however, accords better with the formally courteous tone of Charles's speeches in Act II. sc. iv. Henry is a brother merely because he belongs to the royal caste. On the other hand, the friendly interchange of *brother France*, *brother England*, in Act V. sc. ii., marks, I think, the complete reconciliation of the two monarchs.

80. '*longs*' So Ff. and Qq. See I. ii. 27 above, and the note.

90. [Presents a Paper.] Theobald first added the stage direction necessary here. He placed it against l. 89. It ran thus: *Gives the French King a Paper*. Malone put: *Gives a paper* against l. 89.

99. *fierce*] *Therefore in fierce* Ff. and Qq. *And*, placed by Rowe before *therefore*, was adopted by subsequent editors. S. Walker proposed *fiery*, a reading which has been accepted by Dyce, Deighton, and Rolfe. Milford suggested *fiercest*. Knight, and the Cambridge editors, followed the Ff. A long-vowelled, or emphatic, monosyllable, like *fierce*, can serve for a measure or foot. Walker compared with ll. 99, 100 *Ov. Met.* iii. 298—301:

' . . . Ergo maestissimus altum

Æthera conscendit; nutuque sequentia traxit

Fulmina [sic, ? Nubila]; queis nimbos, immixtaque fulgura ventis

Addit, et tonitrus, et inevitabile fulmen.—*Crit. Exam.*, iii. 142.

107. *privy*] So Ff. The Qq. have *pining*, a reading introduced by Pope, and generally followed since. Schmidt (*Sh. Lex.*, s. v. *Privy*) compares *Errors*, III. ii. 146, and *Richard III.*, III. v. 106, where *privy* means 'not seen openly, secret.' He construes the sentence thus: 'the secret groans of maidens.' Rother: 'the secret maidens' groans.' Johnson proposed to arrange ll. 106, 107 thus: 'Turning the dead mens' blood, the widows' tears,' &c.

112. *too*] (Qq) F2, 3, 4. *to* F1.

129, 130. Arranged as by Rowe. In Ff. the first line ends at *England*.

140. [Flourish.] So the Ff. This 'Flourish,' transferred by Dyce to the last line, was perhaps intended to show that the king rises to close the audience.

146. [Exeunt.] Ff. I have added the 'Flourish' announcing the departure of 'the *dramatis personæ*.'

ACT III.

Chorus.

Actus Secundus Ff. [Flourish. Enter Chorus.¹ So Ff. *Flourish* is omitted in the other Ff.

2, 3. *In . . . Thought.*] Arranged as by Rowe. One line in Ff.

4. *Hampton*] So Theobald. *Douer* Ff.

6. *fanning*] So Rowe. *fayning* Ff, 2. *faining* F3, 4. In Chester's *Loves Martyr* (1601) 'faining' = *fanning*. See Dr. Grosart's ed. (New Sh. Soc.), under 'Thoughts keepe me waking,' p. 153. Mr. Daniel suggests: 'the fleet rose on the sea like the sun, the streamers imitating (faining) its rays.'

33. [Alarum . . . off.] So Ff.

35. *each*] So Ff. *ech* F2, 3, 4. In *Pericles*, III. Prol., last lines, *each* (vb.) rimes with *speech*. In Levin's *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (E. E. T. S. ed., 54/31), 'to EKE' is a rime for SÉEKE, and the like.

ACT III.

Scene i.

[Alarum . . . ladders.] *Enter the King, Exeter, Bedford, and Gloucester.* *Alarum: Scaling Ladders at Harflew* Ff. *Scaling-Laddere* F3. *Scaling-Ladders* F4.

1. *Once more . . . once more*] Arranged as by Pope. Two lines in Ff, ending *Breach, more*.

7. *summon*] So Rowe. *commune* Ff. Rowe's emendation has been, I believe, invariably adopted by subsequent editors. *Summon up* yields good sense, and has, moreover, been used by Shakspeare in other places. Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i.: 'Now Madam *summon vp* your dearest spirits,' &c. And see also *Sonnets*, xxx. 2, and *Lear*, II. iv. 35. Dr. Nicholson would retain *commune*, believing it to be derived from *communio*, or rather, *commoneo*, and comparing it with *late*, which he regards as another literate word coined by Shakspeare from *latus-i* = chosen. See note on II. ii. 61 above. He wrote to me: 'I have often heard "warn up or warn them up."' With 'commune vp the blood,' we may perhaps collate 'prepare vp him / Against to morrow,' &c., in the Q2 version of *Romeo & Juliet*. The Ff. version of this passage (IV. ii. 45, 46) reads: 'prepare him vp,' &c.

17. *Noblest*] So F2, 3, 4 (*On, Noblest English*). *Noblish* Ff. Malone's reading, *noble*, was adopted by Dyce, Deighton, and Rolfe. Dyce supposed that *Noblish English* was 'a mistake occasioned by the termination of the second word having caught the compositor's eye.'—Dyce's *Sh.*, iv. 518. He considered *Noble English* 'quite strong enough as opposed to "good yeomen."' But—to pass over the fact that we are here dealing with impassioned language, in which we may expect to find epithets strained to the uttermost—it should be observed

that there is a perceptible lowering of his tone when Henry addresses the yeomen. Compare the motives for valour with which the king animates the nobles (ll. 18—25), and those he urges upon the yeomen (ll. 26—30). Knight read 'nobless English,' i. e. *the English nobility*; comparing with this reading 'Princes French' and 'Princes English' in V. ii. 8, 11 below.

24. *men*] F4. *me* F1, 2, 3.

32. *Straining*] Rowe. *Straying* Ff.

34. *Cry . . . George*] I have followed Warburton's punctuation. In the Ff the line is punctuated and printed thus: 'Cry, God for *Harry*, England, and S. *George*.' Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, retained the punctuation of the Ff, with the substitution of a note of admiration for a period after 'Saint George.' Delius punctuated thus: ' . . . Harry! England and Saint George!' This punctuation is accepted by Schmidt (*Sh. Lex.*, s. v. *George*). I assume that we have in l. 34 three distinct war-cries. Compare *Richard III.*, V. iii. 270 (F1). 'God, and Saint *George*, *Richmond*, and Victory.' See other Shaksperian examples of the war-cry 'Saint George' in Schmidt's *Sh. Lex.*, s. v. *George*. It often occurs in Holinshed. Capt. John Smith, in his *Seamans Accidence*, 1626, and *Seamans Grammar*, 1627, gives: 'St. George for England.' Dr. Nicholson takes 'Charge' (l. 33) to be a verb imperative. Shakspeare has 'charge,' *sb.*, meaning the signal for the onset, in *Lucrece*, l. 434.

ACT III.

Scene ii.

[Enter . . . Boy.] So Ff. In the Ff. *Welch*. is the marginal name against l. 64, and the remaining speeches of Fluellen throughout this scene. So, instead of *Jamy*. and *Mac*., the Ff. have *Scot.* and *Irish*.

2. *Corporall*] So Ff. See note on II, i. 35 above.

6—9. *Knocks . . . fame*. 13—17. *If . . . bough*] Arranged as by Capell. Prose in Ff. Pope, and Theobald (ed. 2, 1740), made one line of *And Sword . . . fame*. For ll. 13—15, *If . . . high*, Pope substituted the corresponding two lines in the Qq., which run thus: 'And I. If wishes would preuaile, / I would not stay, but thither would I hie.' Johnson restored the text of the Ff. Pope also omitted ll. 16, 17, *As . . . bough*. These lines were replaced by Steevens, and first printed as verse by Capell.

17. [Fluellen . . . in.] Enter Flewellen and beates them in Qq. Enter Fluellen Ff.

18. *preach*] *breach* Ff. At this point it may be convenient to summarize the changes I have made in Fluellen's Welsh-English, as printed in the Ff. They are: (1) The substitution of initial *p* for *b* in many cases where initial *b* is found in the Ff. The Cambridge editors cut the knot by strictly following the text of the Ff., and, on the other hand, no editor has, I believe, carried out with inflexible consistency the substitution even of *p* for *b*. On comparing Fluellen's talk with Evans's, as it is printed in the Ff., the reader soon perceives that the latter's

Welsh-English is much more marked than the former's; a fact which may lead one to infer that greater care was taken in preserving Sir Hugh's orthoëpy. But in *Hem. V.* we notice variations. Compare, for example,—in regard to the substitution of *p* for *b*,—III. vi. 3, 4 and 6—14 with l. 84 and ll. 87—92 below. Considering that the initial *p* is a well-defined and, upon the whole, the most constant peculiarity of Sir Hugh Evans's and Fluellen's speech, and believing that initial *b* was often erroneously printed instead of it, I determined to supply the *p* wherever, in my judgment, its absence seemed to lessen somewhat the mannerism of the speaker. I have not done this in the case of such relatively unnoticeable words as *be* and *but*, nor have I converted the familiar 'buy' and 'bu'y' (V. i. 61, 62) into words which might hardly be recognized. For this reason 'bubukles' (III. vi. 98) should, perhaps, not have been changed, although the 'trempling of minde' (*Merry Wives*, III. i. 12) that afflicted Sir Hugh is an authority for a medial *p*. (The only instance, in my text, of a substitution of *p* for medial *b*.) For 'bubukles' the Qq. have 'pumples.' (2) The elision of initial *w*. The elision of initial *w* is a frequent and invariable characteristic of Sir Hugh Evans's talk, and occurs twice in Fluellen's. See IV. vii. 24, 110 below, where the word has been left precisely as it stands in the Ff. In the Qq. 'worell' = *world*. To each word in which initial *p* is substituted for initial *b* or initial *w* is elided, an obelus is affixed, so that the reader can restore the text of the Ff. by substituting a *b* for a *p*, and disregarding the elision of the *w*. (3) Pronunciation of *Yeshu*. The Ff. have *Cheshu* at III. ii. 59, 66, 75; *Iesu* at IV. i. 65; *Ieshu* at IV. vii. 109. Both pronunciations could scarcely have been meant to stand, and I have therefore followed that which—judging from its numerical preponderance, and greater consistency of spelling—should seem to have more authority in its favour. Most modern editors print *Cheshu* throughout the play. The Cambridge editors retained the variations of spelling in the Ff. The spellings in the Qq. are: *Iesu* Q1, 2; *Yeshu* Q3—III. ii. 59; *Iesus* Qq. (om. Ff.); *Iesus* Q1, 2; *Yeshu* Q3 (om. Ff.)—III. vi. 3, 12; *Iesu* Q1, 2; *Yeshu* Q3—IV. i. 65; *Iesus* Q1, 2; *Iesu* Q3—IV. vii. 109; *Iesu* Qq. (om. Ff.); *Iesus* Qq. (om. Ff.)—IV. viii. 1, 58.

20—23. *Be . . . chuck!*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff. Pope omitted l. 22. Dr. Nicholson supposes that Fluellen cut short l. 22 by a shower of blows.

25. [Exeunt. Manet Boy.] *Exit* Ff.

29. *Anticks*] *Antiques* Ff. I have altered the spelling of this word because 'Antiques' now = *Antiquities*, and the Boy does not mean that his masters are old, but that they are ludicrous. Both spellings were once used indifferently. Thus Cotgrave (Eng.-Fr., ed. 1632) has: 'Antiques, or anticks. *Antiquailles*.' 'An antique image. *Marmouset, marmoset*.' 'Antiquaille' is defined as '*The Anticke; an Anticke; also an aunchient monument*;' and 'Marmouset' is '*any Anticke Image, from whose teats water trilleth; any Puppet, or Anticke; any such foolish, or odde representation*,' &c. In *Much Ado*, III. i. 63, the Ff. have 'anticke,' and the Q. (1600) 'antique.'

51. [Exit.] So Ff. [Enter . . . Fluellen.] Theobald's stage direction. *Enter Gower* Ff. I suppose that Gower and Fluellen enter together—Gower urging

the latter to come to the mines; but the stage directions which make Fluellen re-enter and Gower follow him, are, perhaps, better.

66. *as in*] So Ff. *as is in* or *as anie in* (cf. IV. viii. 9 below) S. Walker conj.—*Crit. Exam.*, ii. 260.

69. Enter . . . Iamy.] So Ff.

79. *Iamy*] *Jamy* Capell. *James* (*James*) Ff. The Cambridge editors retained *James*.

82. *By Christ law*] There is no stop after 'law' in the Ff. I regard 'law' in this and the like phrases (see ll. 86, 105; IV. vii. 139, below) as forming part of a composite adjuration, usually uttered without pause. Slender's hyphenated 'true-ly-la,' 'indeede-la,' supports this view. See *Merry Wives*, I. i. 322, 326, in F1. Cf. 'God helpe me law' (F1), *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 414. This tag occurs nineteen times in F1, and—except in *Merry Wives*, I. i. 86, 266—always without a preceding stop.

107. *de*] So Ff. The Cambridge editors retained *de*. It must be admitted that the reading *do* (l. 109) might lead one to infer that *de* here is an error. But, in the native dialect given in Dr. George Macdonald's *Sir Gibbie*, 'dee' = *do*. See *Sir Gibbie*, i. 28, *et passim*.

110. *heard*] So Ff. The Cambridge editors read *hear*, but *Jamy* may mean: 'I wish you two *had* discussed military disciplines instead of quarrelling.' A very plausible anonymous conjecture is *ha' heard*. It should be remembered that *Jamy* is not, like Fluellen, a foreigner trying to speak English, and therefore Fluellen's *as in the 'orld* (l. 66, above) is not a parallel case.

114—116. *Of . . . Nation ?*] This is the arrangement and punctuation of the Ff. At the suggestion of a friend, Knight arranged ll. 114—116 thus: 'Of my nation? What ish my nation? What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation, ish a villain, and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal.' In the Ff. the lines stand thus: *Of . . . ish a / Villaine . . . What / ish . . . Nation ?* Knight believed that the arrangement of the Ff. was due to 'one of the mistakes that often occur in printing. The second and third line changed places, and the "Ish a" of the first line should have been at the end of what is printed as the third, whilst "What" of the second line should have gone at the end of the first.' Dyce adopted Knight's arrangement. In his note (iv. 520) the former quotes Mr. Grant White's remark, that 'The change, which the sense requires, is supported by the fact that while all the other clauses are marked as interrogations, the transposed clause has a full-point after it.' Macmorris's abrupt, disconnected sentences (as the Ff. print them) are just what one might expect from a man who, besides being in a violent rage, was speaking a foreign tongue. I have marked *Ish a . . . Rascall* as an *Aside*, because I do not think that Macmorris, angry as he was, would have ventured to utter aloud the highly offensive second sentence, or, if he had, that Fluellen could have answered him with such dignified composure. Dr. Nicholson has offered an explanation of Macmorris's wrath at the mention of his 'nation.' See Introduction, p. lxxxi.

126. [*A Parley sounded.*] Rowe's stage direction. *A Parley* Ff. Rowe also substituted *Exeunt* (last line) for the *Exit* of the Ff.

ACT III.

Scene iii.

[Some . . . below.] *Enter . . . Gates Ff.*

26, 27. *As . . . ashore.*] Arranged as by Rowe. One line in Ff.

32. *heady*] So F3, 4. *headly* F1. *headdy* F2. Knight retained *headly*, believing it to mean: 'headstrong, —rash, —passionate.' Reed (1803), and Malone, read *deadly*, which had been proposed by Capell. *headless* Collier conj.

35. *Defile*] Rowe (ed. 2). *Desire* Ff.

43. [Enter . . . Harflew.] *Enter Gouvernour* Ff. and Qq. Capell removed this stage direction, and made the governor appear on the walls at the opening of the scene. We may suppose, however, that, after the 'Parley' in the last scene, the governor had an interview with the messengers sent by the Dauphin, from which he had not returned when Henry, impatient of delay, enters and exhorts the citizens to yield. If the governor were present during Henry's speech, he was treated with scant courtesy by the king, who only notices his existence at l. 1, and then but indirectly. If, on the other hand, the governor were absent, the question in l. 1 was addressed, naturally enough, to the citizens.

58. [Flourish . . . Towne.] *Flourish, and enter the Towne* Ff.

ACT III.

Scene iv.

[*The . . . Palace.*] So the Cambridge editors. [*Enter . . . Gentlewoman.*] So Ff. I have inserted *Alice* after *and*. The marginal names in the Ff. are: *Kath.* (*Kathe*, l. 1; *Kat*, l. 8) and *Alice*. *Et . . . doigts* (l. 7) is, in the Ff., given to Alice; *Les . . . fingres* (ll. 8—10) to Katherine; *La . . . escholier* (ll. 11, 12) to Alice; and *'ay . . . ongles* (ll. 12, 13) to Katherine. In the Ff. both the marginal names and the text are printed in italic. The French text in the Qq. is so corrupt as to be almost unintelligible. F1 presents it in a tolerably accurate state, and some corrections appeared in the succeeding Ff. Shakspeare's modern editors made further improvements, of which I have silently availed myself. The old spelling has been preserved in this edition; manifest errors only excepted. In regulating the spelling and distributing the accents Cotgrave has been my authority. Where an alternative spelling occurred I have followed the Ff. Thus, Cotgrave gives: 'Appeller. *As* Appeler.' There are no hyphens in such compounds as *appeller vous* either in the Ff. or Cotgrave, and I have therefore not inserted them. Errors, in the number and gender of articles, nouns, adjectives, and participles, have been corrected, but otherwise few changes have been made. The French text, as it stands in F1, is given in the Appendix to this edition. The necessary corrections are so numerous, that I have been obliged—in order to avoid complexity and unsightliness in the text—to depart from my usual rule of bracketing or obelizing each emendation separately, and instead

merely to place an obelus after the last word altered. In the Appendix, however, I have attempted to make the individual changes clear by bracketing the inserted letters or words, and printing the unamended text of the Ff. in italic.

4. *te prie, m' enseignes*] *te prie m' enseignies* F1. Possibly Shakspeare wrote *m' enseigner* or *de m' enseigner*. The former reading is found in F2, 3; the latter in F4.

12. *escholier*] So Ff. Cotgrave has: 'Escolier: f. A Scholler,' &c.

38. *desia*] So Ff. Cotgrave has: 'Desia. Alreadie.'

47. *De . . . de*] *Le . . . le* Ff., and so throughout ll. 47—54, except at l. 54, where the Ff. have: *de Foot, le* (*de* F3, 4) *Count*. It seems unlikely that Alice could have been meant to use the French article here and not elsewhere, or that the princess, who repeats her lesson immediately after her preceptor, should have done so. Further on (ll. 51, 52), where—according to my supposition—the princess indignantly reiterates the offensive words, her excitement makes the mistake a more natural one. When she becomes calmer the lesson is rehearsed faultlessly. The Cambridge editors print *le . . . le* (ll. 51, 52), and *De . . . de* in the other places. Dr. Nicholson thinks that Alice's *de* for *the* should be invariable, but he would retain *Le . . . le* (Ff.) at l. 48, and also *le Count* (F1, 2; *de Count* F3, 4) at l. 54, believing that the princess's strong association of *Foot* and *Count* with certain French words caused her to use the French definite article. Even in the careful final repetition of her lesson, the sound of the former word made her gorge rise, and she again lapsed into '*le*' *Count*.

51. *Foh !*] So the Cambridge editors. *fo* F1. *il faut* F2, 3, 4. *Foh* is, I think, a lesser change, and also more natural than *il faut*.

56. [Exeunt.] F2, 3, 4. *Exit* F1. *Exit omnes* Qq.

ACT III.

Scene v.

[Rouen . . . Palace.] ll. 54 and 64 point clearly to Rouen as the stage locality. And see the Introduction to this edition, p. xxv. I have inserted *the Duke of Burbon* in the Entry, which is otherwise the same as that in the Ff. The Qq. have: *Enter King of France, Lord Constable, the Dolphin, and Burbon* (Bourbon Q3). In the Ff. the marginal name against l. 10 and l. 32 is *Brit*. In the Qq. *Bur.* is prefixed to the lines corresponding to ll. 10—14 in the Ff. ll. 32—35 are not in the Qq. Theobald (Rowe, wrongly, Cam. edd.) gave ll. 10—14, 32—35, to Bourbon, and also put the Duke of Bourbon in the Entry. These changes have been accepted by succeeding editors. 'Bourbon' is addressed at l. 41, but 'Britaine' is not mentioned in this scene. The Cambridge editors suppose that Shakspeare intended at first to introduce the duke of Brittany, and afterwards changed his mind, but forgot to alter the marginal names. See *Cam. Sh.*, iv. 610.

11. *and*] The Ff. read: '*Mort du* (*de* F2, 3, 4) *ma vie, if . . . withall*,' &c. In the Qq. this passage stands thus: 'Normances, basterd Normanes, *mor du* /

And if they passe vnfoughtwithall, / Ile sell my Dukedom/ 'And if' = *an if*. Rowe inserted *thus* after *if*, an emendation adopted by Pope and some other editors. Malone, Knight, Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, printed, without comment, the reading of the Ff. Mr. Deighton, in the notes to his edition of *Hen. V.*, p. ix, says that *vie* should be pronounced as a dissyllable. He compares *K. John*, V. ii. 104, where Ff has: '*Vive le Roy*, as I haue bank'd their Townes?' He also compares *Rich. II.*, V. iii. 119, in the Ff. and Q5, thus: 'Speake it in French (King) say *Pardon'ne moy*.' Q1, 2, 3, 4 have *pardonne moy*. Rowe read *pardonnez moy*. In these instances—as well as in some of those cited by Dr. Abbott (*Sh. Gram.*, par. 489)—the lines scan well enough if a slight stress be laid on *Vive*, *Pardonne*, and *Batailles* (see l. 15 below), and a pause made before or after the word, as the case may require. *Mort de ma vie* occurs again in IV. v. 3 below, where *vie* is a monosyllable. In regard to the pronunciation of the French final *e*, I received—through Mr. F. J. Furnivall—the following communication from Prof. Paul Meyer:

'For the true sounding of final *e* in *vie* about 1600, it is difficult to give a definite answer. I believe that it may have sounded a little, for it did sound surely about Palsgrave's time (see his *Eclaircissement de la langue françoise*, printed A.D. 1530). He says (p. 4 of the first edition): "than shall he (*viz.* the final *e*) in that place be sounded almoste lyke an *o* and very moche in the noose, as these wordes homme, femme, . . . shall have theyr laste *e* sounded in maner lyke an *o*, as *hommo*, *femmo*." But still, even at that time, it would not have been accounted for in the measure of the verse at the end. *Mort de ma vie*, as the end of a verse, is four syllables and no more.'

'*Mort* . . . withall' is a broken sentence followed by a pause. Bourbon's rage chokes him; he can't at first say what he will do rather than suffer the English to 'march along unfought withall'; he resumes, and we learn the alternative.

26. *may*] F2, 3, 4. om. F1.

40—45. *Charles Delabreth . . . Charaloyes.*] 'Charles lord de la Breth, high constable of France,' &c., *Ch.* 555/2/44. 'Charles d'Albreth,' *Monstrelet*, ed. Buchon, iii. 348. The first syllable of *Brabant* is accented at II. iv. 5 above, and IV. viii. 91 below. Also in *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. 114, 115. '*Burgonie*.' '*Burgonie*,' V. ii. 68 below; '*Burgundie*,' IV. viii. 92 below; '*Burgundy*,' V. ii. 357 below. These spellings are found elsewhere in the Ff. '*Burgogne*' occurs at V. ii. 7 below. '*Burgognie*' is the usual spelling in the *Chronicles*. In the Entry of V. ii. below, the Ff. have: '*the Duke of Bourgongne*.' So '*Bourgongne*,' N. Gilles's *Croniques & Annales de France*, ed. 1552, Fo. xliij, *et passim*. And '*This Godemare was a King of Bourgongne*,' &c., *Cotgrave*, s. v. '*Godemare*,' '*Iagues*' is a monosyllable at IV. viii. 88 below. Shakspeare usually makes it a dissyllable. '*Chattillion*.' '*Chatillon*,' IV. viii. 88 below; in *K. John* (Ff), l. i. 1, '*Chattillion*,' l. 30, '*Chattillion*,' l. i. 53, '*Chatillon*.' '*Vaudemont*.' So F2, 3, 4. *Vandemont* F1, and at IV. viii. 95 below. '*Beumont*' (*Beaumont* F3, 4) was the English pronunciation of *Beaumont*. *Beaumont*, Entry, IV. ii. below, and IV. viii. 95 below. Mr. Furnivall wrote to me: 'All the poor folk near us in Surrey used to say "Būmont Lodge." Compare Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1630,

p. 63, Arber's ed.: 'He [the earl of Worcester] was of the ancient and noble Bloud of the *Bewfords*,' &c. '*Grandpree*,' *Grand Pree* Ff.; *Grandpree* and *Grandpree*, Entry, IV. ii. 38 below; *Grandpree*, IV. viii. 94 below; 'Grant Prée,' *Ch.* 553/1/24; 'Grandpree,' *Id.* 555/2/53; 'Grand-Pré,' *Monstrelet*, iii. 349. '*Roussi*,' *Roussie*, IV. viii. 94 below; 'Roussie,' *Ch.* 555/2/53; 'Russie,' *Id.* 553/1/24; 'Roussy,' *Monstrelet*, iii. 349. '*Faulconbridge*,' *Fauconbridge* (*Faulconbridge* F4), IV. viii. 94 below. 'Fauconberg,' *Ch.* 553/1/26; 'Fauconberge,' *Id.* 555/2/53; 'Fauconbridge,' *Id.* 555/1/4. In '*Monstrelet*, iii. 349, 'Fauquembergue,' the spelling adopted in the *Dramatis Persona* of this edition. 'Foy,' *Loys* Ff.; *Foyes*, IV. viii. 94 below; 'Fois,' *Ch.* 555/2/53; *Fois* Capell. '*Lestrale*,' 'Lestlake,' *Ch.* 555/2/54; *Hall*, p. 72. I cannot find either of these names in *Monstrelet*'s death-list, vol. iii. pp. 348—354. '*Bouciqualt*,' *Bouciqualt* Ff.; *Bouchiquald*, IV. viii. 72 below; 'Bouciqualt,' *Ch.* 553/1/7; 'Bouciqualt,' *Id.* 555/2/32; 'Boucicaut,' *Monstrelet*, iii. 348. '*Charaloyer*,' So Ff.; 'Charolois,' *Ch.* 552/1/ last line.

46. *Knights* Pope ed. 2 (Theobald). *Kings* Ff.

68. [Flourish. Exeunt.] *Exeunt* Ff. *Exeunt omnes* Qq.

ACT III.

Scene vi.

[The . . . Picardy.] Malone. [Enter . . . meeting.] *Enter Capitaines, English and Welch* (*Welch and English* F3, 4), *Gower and Fluellen* Ff. *Enter Gower* Q1, 2 (and *Flewellen* Q3). *Enter Gower and Fluellen, meeting* Capell.

8. *life* (Qq.) Rowe. *live* Ff.

II. *anuchient Lieutenant* So Ff. *there is an Ensign There,* &c. Qq. Knight, and Dyce, omitted *Lieutenant*. The latter remarks that 'both titles cannot stand,' and points out that, in the ensuing dialogue, Pistol is thrice (? four times) called *anuchient* by Fluellen. *ensign* (Qq.) Malone. Here '*anuchient*' = *old*. Pistol was *old* by this time. See V. i. 78 below. Dr. Nicholson thinks that *anuchient Lieutenant* is Fluellen's 'odd way of expressing a Lieutenant who is an Ancient.' As to Pistol's military titles, see note on II. i. 35 above.

19, 20. *Captaine . . . well.* Arranged as in Qq. Prose in Ff.

23—27. *Bardolph . . . Stone*,—] Ll. 23—25 are arranged as by Pope. For ll. 26, 27 Capell's arrangement has been adopted. Pope made one line of *That Goddess . . . stone*. At l. 24 Ff. read *And of. Of* Capell. *And* Pope. *And of* mars the metre. The latter word is, I think, more Pistolian. The Qq. have: '*Bardolfe* a souldier, one of buxsome valour,' &c. Ll. 23—27 are printed as prose in the Ff. and Rowe's editions, and as irregular verse in the Qq. At l. 27 Rowe punctuated thus: *stone— Stone*. Ff.

In Cebes's *Picture*, cap. vii., Fortune is described as 'τυφλή και μαιωμένη τις ελναι δοκούσα, και εστηκυια επι λιθου τινος στρογγύλου,' &c. This parallel was pointed out in the *Variarum Sh.*, xvii. 360. In a cut by Holbein in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, Basle, 1676, p. 192, Fortune is represented as standing on a globe

which floats upon the sea. She is not blinded. I have a medal bearing on its obverse the bust of Catarina Sforza, to l., with the legend DNA . CATARINA . SFOR . VICECO . DE . RIARIO . IMOLAE . FORLIVII. Reverse. Fortune looking to l., holding in her right hand a rudder, in her left a ball. Her right foot rests upon a small globe, her left is poised in the air. Leg. TIBI . ET . VIRTUTI. Cf. Fluellen's words 'her foot . . . Stone,' ll. 33, 34 below.

29. *afore her*] Capell. *before her* (Qq.) Rowe. *afore his* Ff.

37—47. *Fortune . . . requite.*] Arranged as by Capell. Prose in Ff. Verse in Qq. Warburton printed ll. 37—39 *Fortune . . . death!* as prose.

Naunton says that the intrigues of jealous courtiers made Raleigh 'shortly after sing, *Fortune my foe,*' &c.—*Fragmenta Regalia*, Arber's ed., p. 49.

38, 43. *Pax*] So Ff. *packs* Qq. Theobald, following Holinshed, read *pix*, an emendation accepted, I believe, by most editors before Knight. He restored the text of the Ff, remarking in a note that the '*pix*—a casket containing the sacred wafer—could not readily be stolen.' There can, however, be no doubt that the soldier, whom Shakspeare metamorphosed into Bardolph, stole a *pix* or *pyx*. See the Introduction to this edition, p. xxvi. Johnson was wrong in supposing that *pax* or *pix* signified the same thing, or that the former contained the host. In D'Arnis's *Lexicon Manuale*, &c., 1866, the definitions (derived from Ducange) are: '*Pax*—Instrumentum quod inter Missarum solemnia populo osculandum præbatur; *instrument que le prêtre présente à baiser*; ol[im] *paix*.' '*Pyxis*—Vas in quo reponuntur hostiæ consecratæ ad viaticum; *pyxis, boîte à hosties*.' See also the notes in the *Variorum Sh.*, xvii., 362, 363; and Nares's *Glossary*, s. vv. '*Pax*' and '*Pix*.' Nevertheless, if Shakspeare has chosen to make Bardolph steal a *pax*, an editor cannot do otherwise than bow to his decision. When writing the Introduction, I believed that Shakspeare wrote *pix*. See p. lxvi.

57. [Exit.] So Ff. *Exit Pistol* Qq. There is an ample comment upon '*Figio*' (l. 55) and '*The Figge of Spaine*' in Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, pp. 302—308, ed. 1839.

76, 77. *I will trot . . . Faces.*] In the metrical history of Henry V.'s expedition (Harleian MS. 565), attributed to Lydgate, a similar speech is given to the duke of 'Barrye' [Bar].

"'Be God," he seyde, "y wil not sparye,
Over the Englysshmen y thenke to ryde;" &c.

Nicolas's *Agincourt*, p. 319.

82. [Drum heard.] Capell's stage direction.

83. *from the Bridge*] Pope omitted these words because 'it is plain from the sequel, that the scene here continues, and the affair of the bridge is over.' Theobald said: 'Fluellen, who comes from the bridge, wants to acquaint the king with the transactions that had happened there. This he calls *speaking to the king from the bridge*. Dr. Nicholson informs me that he has 'often heard "a message from"—naming the fort or post, &c., and meaning from the commanding officer there.'

83. [Enter . . . others.] *Drum and Colours.* Enter the King and his poore

Souldiers Ff. Enter (*Enter* Q1) *King*, Clarence, Gloster, and others Qq. The word 'poore' in the stage direction leads one to infer that the soldiers, who appeared on the stage at this juncture, were got up so as to harmonize with the description of them given in Chorus IV. 26 below.

106. *Leuitie* *leuitie* (Qq.) Rowe. *Leuitie* F1. *Leuity* F2, 3, 4.

108. [Tucket . . . Mountioy.] So Ff. Enter (*the* Q3) *French Herauld* Qq.

118. *kue* So Qq. The Ff. have a capital Q. The actor's cue is, of course, meant. Q or q seems to have been the sign for a farthing, or half a farthing, i. q. *quadrans*. At Oxford small portions of bread or beer were called 'cues,' and marked in the buttery books with a q. See Nares's *Glossary*, s. vv. 'Cue' and 'Q.' I follow the Qq. in order to avoid ambiguity.

142—144. *Who, . . . Frenchmen.* Equivalent to 'They, who when in health,' &c. See Abbott's *Sh. Gram.*, par. 249.

152. Gives . . . Purse.] *Gives a Purse* Dyce. See *Introduction*, p. xxvii.

161. [Exit.] Added by Rowe. Not in Ff. or Qq.

166. [Exeunt . . . beating.] *Exeunt* Ff. *Exit* Q3. The English had a drum with them. See stage directions at ll. 82 and 83 above. I learn from Dr. Nicholson that the drums beat while troops are on their march, cease when they halt, and beat again when the march is resumed.

ACT III.

Scene vii.

[The . . . Agincourt.] Theobald. [Enter . . . others.] So Ff. I have inserted *the* before *Dolphin*. The Qq. have: *Enter* Bourbon, Constable, Orleans (*Orleans* F4), Gebon (and *Gebon* Q3). The Qq. assign to Bourbon the part supported, in the Ff., by the Dauphin. The lines in the Ff.—corresponding more or less closely with Bourbon's speeches in the Qq.—are: 'you . . . Horse,' l. 8; 'hee is pure . . . appeare in him,' ll. 20, 21; 'And . . . Ginger,' l. 19 (Order in Qq.); 'Turne . . . them all,' ll. 33, 34; 'I once . . . *Nature*,' ll. 38, 39; 'Then . . . Mistresse,' ll. 41, 42; 'Me well,' l. 44; 'I tell . . . hayre,' ll. 58, 59; 'thou . . . any thing,' l. 63; 'Will it . . . Faces,' ll. 76, 77; 'Tis . . . my selfe,' l. 85. In the Qq. l. 40 is given to the Constable; ll. 81, 82 to Orleans; l. 86 to Gebon, who says: 'The Duke of *Burbon* longs for morning;' and l. 87 to Orleans. ll. 81, 82, and the Constable's answer (ll. 83, 84), are near the end of the scene, just before the Messenger's entrance; and, as the scene ends, the Constable (very absurdly) speaks ll. 62, 63, 'Come . . . day,' at the end of Act IV. sc. ii. below. The substitution of Bourbon for the Dauphin accords with historical fact, and is also more consistent with ll. 64—66 in Act III. sc. v. above, which lines appear—with some slight verbal alterations—in the Qq. In a note in his translation of Monstrelet, Mr. Johnes suggested that 'Sir *Guichard Dolphin*,' who was killed at Agincourt (see IV. viii. 90 below), was the speaker in the F. version of III. vii.; not '*the Dolphin*.' But see III.

vii. 86. Mr. Daniel supposes *Gebon* to have been an actor. So Kemp's name is prefixed to Dogberry's speeches in *Much Ado* (Q. 1600), Act IV. sc. ii. For further remarks on these, and some other variations in the *Dramatis Personæ*, I refer the reader to Mr. Daniel's Introduction to the Parallel Text ed. of *Henry V.* (New Sh. Soc.).

8. *Armour*.—] The Ff. have a note of interrogation after *Armour*. Knight placed a period after *Armour*. Capell punctuated thus: 'armour,—' Orleans's answer shows impatience; he wanted to turn the talk into another channel. Note also l. 29.

12. *pasternes*] F2, 3, 4. *postures* F1.

13. *Ça ha* [] Theobald. *ch'ha*: Ff. om. Pope. *Ha, ha!* Rann.

14. *ches*] So Theobald. *ches* Ff. *qu'il a* Rowe. *qui a* Capell. *voyes* Heath conj]. *Ch'ha!* Anon. Most editors, even Knight, read *qui a*. Pope omitted *le Cheual . . . de feu*. The Cambridge editors, and Rolfe, retain *ches*. None of these conjectures bear any resemblance to the reading of the Ff. On the other hand, there is a peculiarity in the French text of F1, which gives some support to the emendation *ches*. On referring to the Appendix the reader will notice that a final *s* is either omitted or *s* is substituted for it. Cf. *naves*, *pronouncies*, and *asses* in III. iv. 23, 34, and 56; *prennes* in IV. iv. 11; *aus* and *parleis* in V. ii. 179 and 185. The only exception to this rule occurs at III. iv. 4, where F1 has *n'ensignes*. The following extract from Littré shows that *ches* was used with some license:—

'Vauglas a condamné la locution: chez Plutarque, chez Platon, pour dire dans Plutarque, dans Platon. . . . Une fois que *ches* a été ôté de sa signification propre, rien n'empêche qu'il ait pris celle que Vauglas lui conteste. . . . Patte blanche est un point *Ches* les loups, comme on sait, rarement en usage.—LA FONT., *Fabl.* IV. 15.'

But we have no evidence, so far as I am aware, that *ches* ever had a possessive force. Perhaps Shakspeare inadvertently used *ches* as an equivalent to the possessive *with*. If so, it is hypercritical to say much—'quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.'

23. *Jades*] Warburton transposed *jades* and *beasts*. He compared l. 57, below, where 'Iade' is a reproachful term. Steevens quoted Arthur Hall's translation from a French version of the *Iliad*, in order to show that *jades* had not always a bad sense:

'I haue eleauen [chariots] armed wel and richly wrought throughout
With goldsmithes worke, and gallantly embroydred round about.
Two horses tough ech one it hath, the *Jades* they are not dul,
Of Barley white, of Ris and Oates they feede in mangier ful.'

'Homer's *Iliades*,' bk. iv. p. 81.

Knight also cited Ford:

'Like high-fed *jades* upon a tilting-day,
In antique trappings.'

The Lover's Melancholy, Act II. sc. ii.

Delius's explanation (*apud* Deighton, *Hem. V.* p. lxxii.) is, I think, sufficient:

'The Dauphin's horse alone is worthy of the honourable name, all others are jades and may be indiscriminately called beasts.'

58. *his*] So Ff. *her* Qq. Pope read *her*, and so have most succeeding editors, Knight even included. The Cambridge editors, and Rolfe, retained *his*. The Dauphin, I take it, did not intend to be very exact in his comparison. The epithet 'Iade' nettled him, and he retorted with a sarcasm—not specially apposite—on the Constable's foolish passion for a lady who wore false hair. The horse's beauty, he tells the Constable, isn't due to artifice.

62, 63. *vomissement, et la truie*] *vomissement* F2, 3, 4. *vemissement* F1. *truie* Rowe. *leuie* Ff. Dr. Nicholson informs me that this quotation of 2 *Peter* ii. 22 agrees, so far as it goes, word for word with a Protestant version of the *New Testament*, published by Antoine Cellier at Charenton, 1669, and entitled: 'Le N. Testament, *c'est à dire*, La Nouvelle Alliance de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ.' The omission, after *leuie*, of the words '*est retournée a se veautrer*,' is the only change made by Shakspeare.

85. [Exit.] Ff. and Q3.

120. [Enter a Messenger.] So Ff. and Qq.

153. [Exeunt.] So Ff. *Exit omnes* Qq.

ACT IV.

Chorus.

[Act IV. Enter Chorus.] *Actus Tertius. Chorus Ff.*

16. *nam'd*] So Ff. I have placed a comma after *And*, retaining the comma which, in the Ff., follows *nam'd*. Pope punctuated thus: 'And (the . . . nam'd) Proud,' &c. *Nam'd* is used absolutely. Cf. *Hamlet*, I. iii. 62, 63. Tyrwhitt remarked: 'I believe every reader of taste must be hurt by that heavy parenthesis in the second line. How much better might we read thus? *The country . . . toll, And the . . . name.*'—Johnson's and Steevens's *Sh.*, vi. 103, ed. 1778. Steevens accepted this reading and punctuation, and later editors have done the same. Hanmer read: *And the . . . morning's nam'd*.

27. *Presented*] Hanmer. *Presented* Ff.

45, 46. These lines stand thus in the Ff.: 'Thawing cold feare, that meane and gentle all Behold, as may vnworthinesse define (define, F2, 3, 4).' Delius conjectured that a line is lost after *all*. Theobald put a period after *fear*, and read: 'Then, mean and gentle, all Behold,' &c. Hanmer read: 'Then mean and gentle all Behold,' &c. Capell read: 'Then, mean and gentle all, Behold,' &c. Theobald supposed that Shakspeare is here speaking to the *mean* and *gentle* in his audience. He compared Prol. I. 8, and Prol. II. 35, where the 'Gentles' are addressed. It does not therefore follow, as the Cambridge editors remark, that Shakspeare would address any of his audience as *mean*. They add: 'The phrase "mean and gentle" appears to us to refer to the various ranks of the English army who are mentioned in the previous line.'—*Cambridge Sh.*, iv. 612.

Theobald's emendation makes a material alteration in the text, and, moreover, there seems to be no reason why Shakspeare, while describing the effect of Henry's fearless demeanour upon his soldiers, should abruptly—in the middle of a line—turn to the audience, and beseech their favour. But if 'that' be the true reading, the absence of any stop after 'all' leads one to suspect a *lacuna* in the text. Shakspeare might either have pursued the metaphor of the all-embracing, bountiful Sun, or, as the Cambridge editors suppose, he may have added a few more touches to the night-piece. In a matter of such uncertainty, it is safer to leave the line as it stands, lest the editor should incur the guilt of attempting to mend it.

53. [Exit.] Ff.

ACT IV.

Scene i.

[The English . . . Agincourt.] Theobald. [Enter . . . Gloucester.] *Enter the King, Bedford, and Gloucester* Ff. It seems more natural to assume that Bedford enters immediately after the king and Gloucester, rather than that he enters with them, unheeded, till Henry has finished his talk with Gloucester. Johnson omitted *Bedford* from the Entry.

3. *Good morrow*] F3, 4. *God morrow* F1, 2.

12. [Enter Erpingham.] So Ff.

33. [Exeunt . . . King.] *Exeunt* Ff. In the Ff. *Manet King* follows l. 63 below.

34. [Enter Pistoll.] So Ff. *Enter the (the om. Q2) King disguised, to him* Pistoll Qq. In the Qq. the scene begins here.

35. [*Qui va là ?*] Rowe's emendation. *Che vous la ?* Ff. *Ke ve la ?* Qq. Dr. Nicholson would read *Qui vont là*, because Pistol may have heard Erpingham and the others going away, but, on account of the darkness, was not likely to know that only one remained.

37, 38. *Discusse . . . popular.*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff., and Rowe. Verse in Qq.

44—48. *The King's . . . Name* f] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff., and Rowe. Verse in Qq. *What's* (l. 48) is Pope's reading, adopted by Johnson and Steevens, Malone, and Knight. *What is* Ff. and Qq., retained by Dyce, and the Cambridge editors. Dr. Nicholson would also retain *What is*; observing that Shakspeare 'occasionally makes such a syllable as *ly* or *y* at the end of the 3rd foot | u |, or superfluous.'

54, 55. *Tell . . . day.*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff.

60. [Turns to go.] Dr. Nicholson's stage direction. Henry's words (l. 61) show that Pistol made some sign of departing, and, Dr. Nicholson adds, 'it is characteristic of Pistol to go lest he be called to account.'

62. [Exit.] Ff. *Exit* Pistoll Qq.

63. [Enter . . . Gower.] Ff. *Enter Gower and Flewellen* Qq.

65. *lower*] So Q3. *fewer* Ff. *lower* Q1, 2. At l. 80, *lower* Ff. and Qq. Malone introduced the reading of Q3. He believed that a transcriber had carelessly written *lower* in the MSS. from which the F. and the Q. were printed, and, in order to make some sense of this, the editors of the F. changed it to *fewer*. Steevens retained *fewer* on the ground that to 'speak *few*' was a provincialism, meaning to 'speak in a calm, small voice.' He added: 'In Sussex I heard one female servant say to another—"Speak *fewer*, or my mistress will hear you."'—*Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 392. Knight accepted this explanation; a provincialism being 'proper in the mouth of Fluellen.' But Fluellen was not a native of Sussex.

81. [Exeunt . . . Fluellen.] *Exit* Ff. *Exit Gower, and Flewellen* Qq.

83. Enter . . . Williams.] So Ff. *Enter three Souldiers* Qq. In Q1 the marginal names against the speeches corresponding to those in the Ff. are: 1. *Soul.* = *Court*; 2. *Soul.* and 2. *Sol.* = *Williams*; and 3. *Soul.* and 3. *Sol.* = *Bates*. The Q. version of Williams's and Bates's speeches at ll. 178, 179 and 180, 181 are lumped together and given to 3. *Lord.* (3. *Soul.* Q2, 3). Williams's rejoinder (ll. 184—186) is spoken by 2. *L.* (2. *Sol.* Q2, 2. *Soul.* Q3). The Q. version of ll. 84, 85 is spoken by 1. *Soul.*, and the speeches corresponding to 'hee could . . . by him' (ll. 112—114), and 'Be friends . . . enow' (ll. 213, 214), are given to 3. *Soul.*, or *Sol.* The king and 2. *Sol.* are the speakers throughout the remainder of this part of Sc. i.

93. [Thomas] Pope ed. 2 (Theobald). See IV. i. 13 above.

132—136. *Wee . . . left.*] Editors usually make 'Wee . . . place' the imagined appeal of the king's victims; others—for example, Johnson and Steevens, Malone, and Knight—extend it, I presume, to 'rawly left.' The direct appeal ends at 'place;' but afterwards Williams speaks dramatically, in the victims' stead.

140. *who*] So F1, 2. *whom* F3, 4. The inflection is often omitted in F1. See Abbott's *Sh. Gram.*, par. 274.

172. *Moth*] So Ff. *moath* Qq. 'Moth' = *mote*. This spelling occurs elsewhere in the Ff.; for example, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 161. Mr. Grant White believes that 'in the Elizabethan era, and, measurably, down to the middle of the seventeenth century, *d*, *th*, and *t* were indiscriminately used to express a hardened and perhaps not uniform modification of the Anglo-Saxon *ð*, &c. In Sir Balthazar Gerbier's *Interpreter of the Academie for Forraign Languages*, &c., 1648, 'we find words spelled with *th* in which we know there was only the sound of *t*, and, what is of equal importance, words written with *t* which were then, as now, according to received usage, spelled with *th*, and which have been hitherto supposed to have been pronounced with the *θ* (th) sound.' Mr. White cites several instances from Gerbier of these spellings; for example, 'may *seth* = set,' and '*deft* = depth.' So, in the title-page of this play, we have 'Henry the *Fyfe*.' For further particulars concerning the pronunciation of the Elizabethan *th*, consult Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, Pt. III. pp. 969—972 (E. E. T. S. ed.).

219. [Exeunt Souldiers.] *Exit* (*Exeunt* F2, 3, 4) *Souldiers* is, in the Ff., placed against the end of Bates's speech (ll. 213, 214). *Exit the souldiers* stands, in the Qq., below Henry's parting words (ll. 215—219).

220—230. *Vpon . . . generall Ceremonie*! This is the arrangement of *Vpon . . . enjoy* in the Ff. The short, passionate utterances at ll. 223 and 228 accord well with the king's mood. The soldiers had just left him, and he was deeply wounded by their unjust and shallow censure. But as he muses his reason regains her sway; and the measured lines, with which the soliloquy closes, mark the ascendancy of the calm, resolute nature that has turned this bitter lesson to such good account. Knight retained the arrangement of the Ff. Rowe ended ll. 220—224 *souls, . . . and . . . all . . . greatness*. Pope, who followed this order, inserted *and* before *twin-born*. He omitted *the* before *breath* in l. 225. He made ll. 228—230 end *Kings . . . ceremony*, omitting *saue generall Ceremonie*. Hanmer substituted *Subjected* for *Subject*, and ended l. 225 at *fool*. Johnson and Stevens followed Rowe's arrangement of ll. 220—224, and also adopted Hanmer's emendation and arrangement of ll. 225, 226. They ended ll. 228—230 as Pope did, but retained *Save general ceremony*, making it one line. Malone accepted Rowe's and Hanmer's disposition of ll. 220—224 and 225, 226. He accented the penultimate syllable in *Subjected*. In Dyce's text ll. 220—226 end *souls, . . . wives, . . . king! . . . condition, . . . breath . . . feel . . . wringing!* In this way the Cambridge editors arranged ll. 220—226, so far as *feel*. They made two lines of the second half of l. 226 and ll. 227, 228, thus: *But . . . heart's ease Must . . . enjoy!*

236. *What . . . Adoration!* So Knight. *What? . . . Odoration!* Fr. *What! . . . Adoration!* F2, 3, 4 (*soul* F3, 4). *What! . . . adoration!* Rowe. *What is thy toll, O adoration!* Theobald (suggested by Warburton). *What is thy shew of adoration!* Hanmer. *What is thy soul, O adoration!* Johnson. *What is this coyl of adoration!* Heath conj. *What is thy roul of adoration!* Capell. *What is the soul of adoration!* Malone. *What is thy soulless adoration!* Lettsom conj. *What is thy soul but adulation!* Collier (Collier MS.). *What is thy source of adoration!* Keightley conj. Rowe's punctuation was adopted by Pope; Johnson's reading and punctuation by Dyce. Dr. Nicholson was inclined to read: *What is thy soule? an Adoration* (! or .): *an* meaning 'merely an Adoration.' There being, however, no *ductus litterarum* to account for the change of *an* to *of*, he afterwards proposed to punctuate thus: *What is thy soule of?—Adoration* (! or .). This gives the same sense as *an*, though expressed only by the intonation of the speaker. He holds that Henry first asks what is Ceremony's soul, and then says that Ceremony itself, soul and body, is but 'Place, Degree, and Forme.' Knight, criticizing Johnson's and Malone's readings, remarked: "'Ceremony' is apostrophised throughout this magnificent address. To read 'O adoration,' or 'the soul of adoration,' is to introduce a new impersonation, breaking the continuity which runs through fifty lines. Thy soul of adoration, O ceremony, is,—thy inmost spirit of adoration. Is thy worth, thy very soul of homage, anything but 'place, degree, and form.'" Mr. Sydney Herington, while retaining Knight's

punctuation, would make 'adoration's soul' the subject of the question in l. 236. He says :

'I regard "*What . . . Adoration?*" as a transposition. "What is thy soul-of-adoration" = "what is the soul of thy adoration?" like "make me acquainted with your cause of grief," in *J. C.*; "my pith of business," in *M. for M.*; "my prime of youth," in *Rich. III.*; "your cause of distemper" and "your sovereignty of reason," in *Ham.*, &c. "*Thy adoration*" must mean the "adoration that is paid to thee;" and the "soul" is *not*, I take it, "*ceremony's soul*," but "*adoration's soul*," "the soul of the adoration that is offered to Ceremony:"—soul being used primarily in the sense of "essence," and secondarily, as often, in that of "cause" or "reason." Cp. for the use of soul, *Tim.* I. ii, "the very soul of bounty;" and *1 Hen. IV.*, "the soul of hope." Thus, the "*heart*" of Hamlet's "mystery" is equivalent to, "the reason why he is mysterious;" and, in the passage above-quoted from *Hen. IV.*, "the soul of hope" = "the reason for being hopeful." So here, "the soul of adoration" = "the reason for thy being adored." I think, then, that the whole line is to be thus explained: "What is thy soul of adoration" = "what is the soul (essence, reason) of thy adoration," *i. e.* "what is that in thee which makes men adore thee."

Mr. Furnivall also accepts Knight's punctuation. He thus explains l. 236:—

'Now if we interpret this line by the parallel phrase that we all understand, "*What is thy soul of worth* (that men should worship thee)?" and read it, "What, How much, is thy soul worthy of adoration?" we get the meaning that exactly suits the context, and the sense needed by the line itself; and we see that the difficulty in the line arises simply from our not having kept for (or given to) the phrase "of adoration" the same reflex meaning, "worthy of adoration from others," that we have kept for (or give to) the phrase "of worth," "to be esteemed of value by others." The A.S. word is "worth," and *uerdung*, "honouring, veneration, worshipping," is just Shakspeare's "*adoration*" here."—*New Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1877-9, Part I., p. 115.

244. *Think'st* Rowe. *Thinks* Ff.

266. *Hiperion* Fz, 3, 4. *Hiperio* Fl.

275. [Enter Erpingham.] Ff. *Enter (to Q3) the King, Gloster, Epingam, and Attendants* Qq.

277—279. *Good . . . thee.*] Arranged as by Pope. Two lines in Ff., the first ending *together*.

279. [Exit.] Ff.

282, 283. *reckning, if . . . numbers Pluck . . . them* [Johnson and Steevens (Tyrwhitt conj.). *reckning of . . . numbers: Pluck . . . them.* Ff. The Qq. have: *Take from them now the sense of reckoning, That the opposed (opposed Q2) multitudes which stand before them, May not appall (appale Q3) their courage.* Pope, following the Qq., read: *reck'ning of th' opposed numbers Which stand before them. Not, &c.* Theobald read: *reck'ning; lest th' opposed numbers Pluck . . . them. Not, &c.* Conjectures are: *reck'ning; oft . . . them* Jackson; *reckoning, or . . . them* Anon. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, adopted Tyrwhitt's emendation. The latter suggested that we might read: 'The . . . reckoning

of the opposed numbers, *Let that the multitudes which stand before them Pluck . . . them.*—*Cam. Sh.*, iv. 612. Knight retained *of*, and punctuated thus: *The . . . numbers! Pluck their hearts from them not to-day, O Lord, O not to-day!*

M. Mason preferred Theobald's reading to Tyrwhitt's; objecting that 'if the opposed numbers did actually pluck their hearts from them, it was of no consequence whether they had or had not the sense of reckoning.' To this Steevens answered: 'if the sense of reckoning, in consequence of the King's petition, was taken from them, the numbers opposed to them would be no longer formidable. When they could no more count their enemies, they could no longer fear them.' Malone pointed out that *if* had been wrongly substituted for *of* in *John*, II. i. 367, where F2, 3 have: 'Lord of our presence Angiers, and *if* you.' Again, in *Twelfth Night*, II. ii. 33, the Ff. read: 'For such as we are made, *if* such we bee' (be F3, 4): see *Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 403.

Dr. Nicholson adduced the following reasons for retaining the reading and punctuation of the Ff.:—

'You will remark that Shakspere here uses "heart" throughout as the organ of fear (one of the emotions). Cf. Steel, &c. Possess them not with fear, &c. And then he goes on to say, Pluck their hearts from them, *i. e.* take from them the chance even of fear.'

'Now admit for a moment that "Steel their hearts" and "Pluck their hearts" are somewhat inconsistent. Yet adopting the "if" reading and punctuation we land Shakspere and ourselves in a *greater inconsistency*, Henry saying, "If the enemy's numbers pluck their hearts from them, do thou steel their hearts."

'But I apprehend there is no real inconsistency in the original, though some confusion of thought. "O God of battailes," says Henry, "steel my soldiers' hearts," &c.; and then, as he thinks of the great discrepancy, both in numbers and in position, he breathes out the more emphatic wish, "Nay, pluck their hearts from them, that they may have no source of fear."

[This is also Ritson's explanation of 'Pluck their hearts from them.' See *Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 403. Ed.]

'There seems to be a confusion, and Shakspere may have slipped, but it is more likely that the slip was intentional, and meant to mark Henry's state of mind. He has been going through the camp in an assumed form, forcing his nature, being all things with all men that he might inspire them with confidence, and try what he had to depend on. Now, when tired and alone, comes the rebound; the dread of his father's crime being visited on him, his son, possesses him, and all these things and his very earnestness lead him to express his thoughts, but not in the chosen words that he would address to an audience.'

We might suppose that Henry meant: *Take from them their hearts of flesh, and give them hearts of steel.* But 'steel . . . hearts' is a distinct entreaty, and an ellipsis after 'Pluck . . . them,' such as this supposition requires, is hardly possible. Assuming 'if . . . them' to be a sentence grammatically dependent upon 'steel . . . hearts' involves, doubtless, a contradiction to Tyrwhitt's reading, but there is none if we regard the connection between 'steel . . .

hearts and 'if . . . them' as being no more than this: 'steale my Souldiers hearts,' i. e. *make them insensible of fear*, by taking from them the 'sence of reckning.'

291-293. *Toward . . . do;*] Arranged as by Pope. Four lines in Ff., ending *blood: . . . Chauntries, . . . still . . . doe:*

296. [Gloucester, without.] *Enter Gloucester Ff. Enter Gloster Qq.* Henry recognized Gloucester by his voice. Yet the morning broke some time ago. See ll. 84, 85, above. I infer that Gloucester called from behind the traverse, or somewhere out of sight.

299. *friends*] (Qq) Theobald. *friend Ff.*

299. [Exit.] *Exeunt Ff.*

ACT IV.

Scene ii.

[The French camp.] Theobald. [Enter . . . Beaumont.] Ff. This scene is not in the Qq.

2. *Montes d*] Steevens (Capell conj.). *Monte Ff. Montes Theobald. Mon Heath conj.*

2. *Varlet*] So Dyce, and the Cambridge editors. *Verlot Ff. Vald F2, 3, 4.* Cotgrave has: 'Varlet: m. A Groome, &c., as Valet,' &c.

5. *les eaux*] Theobald. *les eues Ff. les cieux Rowe. l'eau Capell.*

5. *la terre*] Rowe. *terre Ff.*

6. *Rien puis? l'air*] Malone. *Rien puis! l'air Theobald. Rien puis le air Ff. L'air et le feu—Rien puis? Johnson conj. Rien plus! l'air Capell. Bien—puis l'air Heath conj.*

6. *le feu*] Rowe. *feu Ff.*

7. *Ciel . . . Constable!*] Editor's arrangement. Two lines in Ff., ending *Orleance. Constable?* Capell printed *Ciel . . . Constable* as one line, placing it after 'Enter Constable.' *Montes . . . Ha* (ll. 2, 3) are arranged as in Ff.

7. *Ciel*] Theobald. *Cien Ff, 2. Cien F3, 4.*

11. *dout*] So Rowe (ed. 2). *doubt Ff. d'out Rowe* (ed. 1). *daunt Pope. out Jackson conj. daub Keightley and Bullock conj. paint Anon conj.* Knight retained 'doubt' = *terrify*. The context supports the reading *dout*. The same mistake occurs in *Hamlet* (Ff), IV. vii. 192, where we find: "I haue a speech of fire, that faine would blaze, But that this folly doubts it." F2, 3, 4 read *drouns*, which may have been originally a gloss.

13. [Enter Messenger.] Ff.

25. *'gainst*] F2, 3, 4. *against Ff.*

35. *Tucket Sonauance*] *tucket-sonauance Knight. Tucket Sonuance Ff. tucket sonance Johnson. tucket-sonuance Johnson and Steevens, Malone. tucket-sonnance Collier.* The *u* and *a* were transposed by the compositor.

37. [Enter Grandpree.] Ff.

52. *them, all*] *them all, Ff.* Rowe placed the comma after *them*. Dyce,

and the Cambridge editors, punctuate with Rowe. Other editors, for example, Malone, and Knight, follow the punctuation of the Ff.

56. Arranged as by Pope. He read *They've* for Ff. *They have*. Two lines in Ff., the first ending *prayers*.

60. *Guidon*] An anonymous conjecture in Rann's *Shakspeare*. Also made, independently, by Dr. Thackeray, late Provost of King's College. Written in pencil on the margin of his copy of Nares's *Glossary*, s. v. 'Guard.' See *Cam. Sh.*, iv. 612. Adopted by Knight, Dyce, and the Cambridge editors. In his note on *Guidon*, Knight said: 'We were indebted to Dr. Hawtrey, the accomplished Provost of Eton, for an emendation communicated to him by the late Dr. Thackeray. In the Ff. ll. 60, 61 run thus: 'I stay but for my Guard: on To the field, I will . . . take,' &c. The first line ends *Guard: on*. Rowe made the modern arrangement. Earlier editors read *guard On . . . field*, placing a period, colon, or semi-colon, after *guard*. Steevens thought that a 'guard' might be a *gorget*. He quoted this line from a description of Achilles's arms in Heywood's *Iron Age*, 1632. 'His sword, spurs, armour, *guard*, pavilion.' He also pointed out the account in Holinshed of the meeting between Henry VIII. and the emperor Maximilian, in 1513, where we read that the king's henchmen 'followed bearing the king's péesces of harnesse, . . . The one bare his helmet, the second his *grangard*, the third his speare,' &c.—*Ch.* 820/1/15—18. The 'Grand-garde' covered the breast and left shoulder. See Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 465. Malone believed that the 'guard' was the Constable's *body-guard*, because the French nobles sped with such haste to the battle that 'they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them,' &c.—*Ch.* 554/1/28. See *Introduction*, p. xxxiii. He also noted 'the kings (Henry V.'s) gard,' i. e. *body-guard*. *Ch.* 554/2/20. See *Introduction*, p. xlv. The latter part of *Ch.* 554/1/28, &c., supports the 'guidon' reading, and so also does the fact that the duke of Brabant—for whom Shakspeare substituted the Constable—is especially recorded to have used a banner taken from a 'trumpet,' i. e. a trumpeter, but is not included—except, perhaps, by inference—amongst those nobles who left their body-guards behind them. On the other hand, Shakspeare may have meant that the Constable should leave his body-guard behind him, and also—in the absence of his standard-bearer—take a banner from a trumpeter. This is Dr. Nicholson's view. (Cotgrave defines 'Guidon' thus: '*A Standard, Ensigne, or Banner, under which a troupe of men of Armes doe serue; also, he that beares it.*') I am now (Jan., 1880) inclined to think that 'Guard,' the reading of the Ff., should be retained.

63. [Exeunt.] Ff.

ACT IV.

Scene iii.

[Before . . . camp.] See *Introduction*, p. cii. [Enter . . . Wesmerland.]
Enter . . . Bedford, Exeter, Erpingham with . . . Wesmerland Ff. Enter
Clarence, Gloster, Exeter and Salisbury Qq.

13, 14. *And . . . valour.*] In the Ff. these lines follow 'go with thee : ' (l. 11). This transposition—made by Theobald at Thirlby's suggestion—is supported by the reading in the Qq., which follows 'Farewell . . . day.' 'And yet in truth, I do thee wrong, For thou art made on the true (true Q2, 3) sparkes of honour.'

14. [Exit Sal.] *Exit Salisbury Rowe.*

16. [Enter the King.] Ff. *Enter (the Q2) King Qq.*

44. *He . . . age*] Pope's transposition. The Ff. have : 'He that shall see this day, and *live* old age,' &c. Pope's change has been, I believe, accepted by all editors except Knight, who retained the arrangement of the Ff. In the Qq. ll. 41 and 44 are transposed ; l. 44 preceding ll. 42, 43, and l. 41 following them. The Q. version of l. 44 is : 'He that out *lives* (out-lives Q3) this day, and sees old age,' &c. Warburton adopted the reading of the Qq. *shall see . . . and live* to Keightley conj.

48. *And . . . day*] So Qq. Not in Ff. Inserted by Malone. In the Qq. ll. 47, 48 are misplaced between ll. 63, 64. Knight omitted l. 48. Although not necessary, it adds a natural and harmonious finishing touch to l. 47.

49. *yet . . . forgot, But he'll*] Malone's punctuation. *yet . . . forgot : But he'll* F1. *yet all shall not be forgot : But F2, 3, 4. yet shall not all forget, But they'll* Pope. *all shall not be forgot ; But he'll* Capell. *yet all shall be forgot, But they'll* Johnson and Steevens (1778). *yes, all . . . forgot ; But he'll* Malone conj. 'Yet' may = *though*, preceding the confident answer to an objection, and strengthened by the closely-connected 'but' = *nevertheless*. The king, I suppose, was checked in the midst of his forecast of enduring fame by the sudden thought that 'old men forget.' He reflected ; then answered : 'yet all shall be forgot,' &c. His hopes, after this misgiving had passed away, took a higher flight : note especially ll. 57—59.

52. *his mouth*] So Ff. *their mouths* Qq. Malone adopted the latter reading. Pope read *their mouth*. In the Qq. l. 52 follows the lines corresponding to ll. 53, 54. Ll. 53, 54 are preceded by : 'Then shall we in their flowing bowles Be newly remembered.' Cf. l. 55. Knight, who retained *his*, remarked : 'When Shakspeare altered "friends" (Qq.) to "neighbours" (Ff.) he altered "*their mouths*" of the quarto to "*his mouth*." How beautifully he preserves the continuity of the picture of *the one old man* remembering his feats, and his great companions in arms, by this slight change. *His* mouth names "Harry the king" as a *household word* ; though in *their* cups the name shall be freshly remembered."—*Companion Sh.*, Histories, ii. 44. Malone preferred *their mouths* 'because *their* cups, the reading of the folio in the subsequent line, would otherwise appear, if not ungrammatical, extremely awkward.'—*Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 417. Dyce, in answer to Knight's argument, said : 'the NAMES at least of the chief warriors who fought at Agincourt must have been quite as familiar to the veteran's "neighbours" as to himself.'—Dyce's *Sh.*, iv. 527. Dyce passed over Knight's parallel between the substitution of *his* for *their* and the change of *friends* to *neighbours*. This fact is material, whether we regard the Q. as a first sketch or as a surreptitious copy of the F. For the old man's *friends* were

likely to be his contemporaries; his comrades at Agincourt, or, at least, men who had a clear remembrance of the great news. In such a case, the exclusive *his* would be inapplicable. But the old man's *neighbours* might comprise another generation, to whom Agincourt was merely a tradition. From a survivor of that glorious day the tale of 'Harry the king' and his valiant peers would come as a living voice from the past: the younger men who drew around the veteran could only listen to his old-world stories, and pledge the health he gave. The Cambridge editors observed: 'We retain *his mouth*, because it gives a very complete sense, and because the authority of the Folio is greatly superior to that of the Quarto. The names of the King, Bedford, &c. were to be familiar as household words in the mouth of the old veteran, that is, spoken of every day, not on one day of the year only.'—*Cam. Sh.*, iv. 613. They added another argument, which is, in effect, the same as mine.

67. [Re-enter Salisbury.] Cambridge editors. *Enter Salisbury* Ff.

78. [Tucket. Enter Montjoy.] Ff. *Enter the Herald from the French* Qq.

104. *abounding*] So Ff. *abundant* Qq. Theobald read a *bounding*, and Knight suggested *rebounding* as more clearly conveying Theobald's meaning. The context shows that the 'abounding,' i. e. the *superfluous* valour of the English is the cause of their 'killing in relapse of Mortalitie.' The vaunt savours of bombast, for which reason, perhaps, Pope put ll. 104—107 in the margin.

105. *grasing*] F2, 3, 4. *crasing* F1.

121. As one line in Pope, omitting *thou*. Two lines in Ff., ending *laided labour*:

127. [Exit.] Ff. *Exit Herauld* Qq

128. *thou'lt . . . againe*] Theobald. *thou wilt . . . for a Ransome* Ff. Omitted by Pope. *thou wilt . . . here for ransom* Collier (Collier MS.). *thou wilt once more come for a ransom* Cambridge editors conj.

128. [Enter Yorke.] Ff.

129, 130. *My Lord . . . Vaward.*] The three divisions of an army were called vaward, battle, and rereward, these being their relative positions when marching in single column. Whatever might be the position of the army,—whether, for example, it marched in three parallel columns or wheeled into line of battle,—these divisional names were retained. In the latter case, the vaward usually formed the right wing. (See *Introduction*, p. xxxix, note 1.) Dr. Nicholson, to whom I am indebted for this information, sent me also the following illustrative quotation:

'Sir Edward Hoby, in his translation of Merdoza's *Theorique and Practise of War*, 1597, says—"because in reason of warre [that is, from the necessity of the van's position in the line of advance] the vantgarde ought to be most skilfull and exercised, and consequently is of force to bee the right horne in stand or fight,"'

132. [Exeunt.] Ff. *Exit* Qq.

ACT IV.

Scene iv.

[The . . . Battle.] Theobald. [Alarum . . . Boy.] *Alarum . . . Souldier, Boy Ff. Enter Pistol, the French man, and the Boy Qq.* In the Qq. the scenes corresponding to the F. scenes iv. and v. are transposed.

3. *Qualitie! Calen o!* Malone's emendation of the F. *Qualitie* (*Quality* F4) *calmie custure me.* He placed a comma after *Calen*. *Callino, castore me* Boswell. Malone discovered in Clement Robinson's *Handfull of pleasant delites*, 1584 (reprinted by Mr. Arber), a song entitled *A Sonet of a Lower in the praise of his lady.* *To Calen o Custure me: sung at euerie lines end.* The first line runs thus: 'When as I view your comly grace, Ca.' &c. Boswell found, in Playford's *Musical Companion*, 1673, an old Irish song called 'Callino, castore me.' From Mr. Finnegan, an Irish schoolmaster, he learnt that these words mean, 'Little girl of my heart, for ever and ever.' As the words have no connection with the Frenchman's speech, Boswell supposed that Pistol, instead of attending to his prisoner, contemptuously hums a song. Knight—who read *Calen o custure me*—thought that *qualité* reminded Pistol, by its similarity of sound, of *Calen o*, &c.—*Pictorial Sh.* Hist. i. 366, ed. 1. Omitted in *Companion Sh.* The Cambridge editors retained the reading of Ff. Warburton read: '“Quality, *cality*—construe me, art thou a gentleman?” i. e. tell me, let me understand whether thou be'st a gentleman.' *cality* i—construe me Capell. Johnson and Steevens adopted Edwards's conj. *call you me!*—*Construe me.* Ritson said: 'Pistol, who does not understand French, imagines the prisoner to be speaking of his own quality. The line should therefore have been given thus: “Quality i—calmly; construe me, art thou a gentleman?”' This conj. was accepted by Rann.

6—10. *O Signieur . . . Ransome.* Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff.

10. [Makes menacing gestures.] The Frenchman did not understand English, but his terrified entreaty at l. 11 shows, I think, that Pistol's gestures furnished an ample comment upon that language.

12—14. *Moy . . . blood.* Arranged as by Johnson. Prose in Ff.

13. *Or!* Hanmer (Theobald conj.). *for Ff.*

13. *rymme* So F1, 2, 3. *rym* F4. *ransom* Warburton (Theobald conj.). *rim* Capell. *rhem* Steevens conj. *ryno* (i. e. money) M. Mason conj. Compare: . . . 'whereas the peritoneum or *rimme* of the belly may be broke,' &c.—Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, bk. iv. chap. iii. p. 183, ed. 1646. Mr. Daniel referred me to P. Fletcher's *Purple Island*, Canto II. st. 22, note. See also, in the *Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 427, the illustrations of 'rimme' quoted by Steevens.

16. *Brasse* Ff. Mr. Ellis says, that 'brass' probably indicates 'the continued pronunciation of final s.'—*Early English Pronunciation*, Pt. III. p. 923 (E. E. T. S. ed.). The annotators in the *Variorum Sh.* (xvii. 428, 429) agree in holding that *bras* must, in Shakspeare's time, have sounded like *braw*.

16—18. *Brasse . . . Brasse*] Arranged as by Johnson. Prose in Ff. Two lines in Pope, ending *cur . . . brass*?

20—22. *Say'st . . . name.*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff.

33. *à cette heure*] Theobald. *asture* Ff. *à l'heure* Anon. conj.

34—36. *Ouy . . . sword.*] Arranged as by Cambridge editors. As verse first by Johnson, ending first line at *pesant*. Prose in Ff.

36. [Flourishes his sword.] Suggested by l. 36.

44, 45. *Tell . . . take.*] Arranged as by Johnson. Prose in Ff.

48. *Pavez*] *layt* a Ff. *luy* F2, 3, 4. Dr. Nicholson thinks that Shakspeare may have written *luy promettes*, the reading of F4.

51. *Je suis tombé*] Theobald. *Je intombe* Ff. *ie ne tombe* F2, 3, 4. Dr. Nicholson suggests that Shakspeare wrote *Je me tombe*, or *tombais*.

59, 60. *As I . . . mee*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff. For second line, Pope read, with Qq., *Follow me, cur*.

60, 61. [Exit Pistoll. Exit French Souldier.] No stage direction in Ff. *Exit omnes* Qq. Malone separated the *exits*. Some—for example, the Cambridge editors—adopt Pope's *Ex. Pist. and Fr. Sol*.

71. [Exit.] Ff. The Boy's speech (ll. 61—71) is not in the Qq.

ACT IV.

Scene v.

[Another . . . Field.] Theobald. [Enter . . . Ramburs.] *Enter Constable, Orleansce, Burbon, Dolphin, and Ramburs* Ff. *Enter the four French Lords* Qq. In the Qq. two short speeches are given to *Gebon* and *Orleans*; and the rest of the dialogue is divided between *Bourbon* and the *Constable*. The Dauphin does not appear. See note on the *Dramatis Personæ* of Act III. sc. vii. above.

5. [A short Alarum.] Ff.

5, 6. *Sits . . . away.*] Arranged as by Capell. The lines end *Plumes . . . away* in Ff.

9. *too*] F2, 3, 4. *to* Ff.

11. *Let's dye in honour: once*] So Knight, from Qq. *Let us dye in once* Ff. *Let us flye in once* F2, 3, 4. In the Qq. the line corresponding to the F. l. 23 is spoken by the Constable, and runs thus: 'Lets dye with honour: our shame doth last too long.' Knight's insertion was adopted by Staunton, Grant White, and Dyce, and, with a slight modification (*Let us* Ff.), by the Cambridge editors also. *Let us dye, instant:—once* Theobald. *Let us die in fight: once* Malone. Conjectures are: *Let us hie instant: once* Becket; *Let us not fly:—in!—once* Collier (Collier MS.). Pope omitted l. 11.

15. *by a slaue*] (Qq.) Pope. *a base slaue* Ff. *by a base slave* F2, 3, 4. In Qq. 'Why least' = Ff. *Whilst*.

23. [Exeunt.] *Exit* Ff. *Exit omnes* Qq.

ACT IV.

Scene vi.

[Another . . . Field.] [Alarum . . . Prisoners.] Ff. *Enter the King and his Nobles*, Pistoll Qq. In regard to the Entry at sc. vi., and sc. vii. l. 52, see *Introduction*, pp. xli., xlii.

2. [Enter Exeter.] Exeter is usually placed in the general Entry. The wording of l. 2 rather favours the supposition that he enters here. This stage direction was suggested to me by Dr. Nicholson.

15. *And*] (Qq.) Pope. *He* Ff.

34. *mistfull*] Theobald (Warburton). *mixtfull* Ff.

34. *too*] F3, 4. *to* F1, 2.

34. [Alarum.] Ff. *Alarum soundes* Qq.

36. Upton, and Capell, conjectured that this line should be given to a Messenger, and the following lines to the king. Against l. 35 Malone proposed to put: *Enter a Messenger who whispers the King*.

38. [Exeunt.] Rowe (ed. 2). *Exit* Ff. *Exit omnes* Qq.

ACT IV.

Scene vii.

Actus Quartus Ff. [Another . . . Field.] [Enter . . . Gower.] Ff. *Enter Fleuellen, and Capitaine Gower* Qq. This is Act IV. scene xiii. in Pope's ed. He remarked: '*Here in the other editions they begin the fourth Act, very absurdly, since both the Place and Time evidently continue, and the words of Fluellen immediately follow those of the King just before.*' Rowe began the Fourth Act here. Theobald qualified Pope's stricture by pointing out that there must be a short interval between sc. vi. and vii., because Gower speaks in the past tense of the prisoners' massacre.

13. *Pig*] *big* Ff. *big* Qq. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, put a capital. Previous editors, I believe, left the *p* of the Ff. The humour of a *p*—if there be any—appeals merely to the eye.

16. *great*] Qq., F2, 3, 4. *grear* F1.

52. [Enter . . . Flourish.] *Alarum. Enter King Harry and Burbon with prisoners. Flourish* Ff. *Enter King and the Lords* Q1 . . . *the King and Lords* Q2. . . . *the King and his Lords* Q3. Johnson proposed to place ll. 53—63 at the beginning of sc. vi. See *Introduction*, pp. xli, xlii.

63. [Exit Herald.] Ed. [Enter Montjoy.] Ff. *Enter the Herauld* Qq.

66. *meanes this, Herald*] Steevens's punctuation. *meanes this Herald* F1. *meanes* (means F3, 4) *their Herald* F2, 3, 4. *mean'st thou, Herald* Hammer. The unpunctuated '*meanes this Herald*' would be more appropriate if the king had first caught sight of Montjoy. We must also suppose that '*How . . . Herald*' is addressed to Exeter and Gloucester. On the other hand, '*this, Herald,*' and the context, refer to Montjoy's previous mission.

71. *booke*] So Ff. *look* Grant White (from the Collier MS.), Dyce, and the Cambridge editors. Dyce supported his reading by citing examples of vb. 'look' = *search for*, in *Merry Wives*, IV. ii. 79, and *As You Like It*, II. v. 34. Also in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit without Money*, II. iv., and *Night-Walker*, III. i. To the Shaksperian instances may be added: *All's Well*, III. vi. 115, and *Lear*, Ff. (*seek* Qq.), III. iii. 15. But vb. 'book' = *register* is also used by Shakspeare. See *Sonnet* cxvii. 9, and 2 *Hen. IV.*, IV. iii. 50. 'To book a debt' is a phrase still in common use. 'Book' is, moreover, a better word here than 'look,' because it was the heralds' duty, after a battle, to make lists of the slain, in order that questions relating to succession and the extinction of titles might not afterwards arise.

76. *and their*] Malone's emendation. *and with* Ff. The compositor, he supposed, glanced at the next line. *while their* Pope. *and the* Capell.

98. *knows*] Pope. *know* Ff.

100, 101. A Welshman, wearing a large leek in his hat, appears in Plate iv. of the *Rake's Progress*, published in 1735. The rake is going to court. March 1 (St. David's Day) was Queen Caroline's birthday. Peregrine Pickle's friend Cadwallader told him: 'I was once maimed by a carman, with whom I quarrelled, because he ridiculed my leek on St. David's day; my skull was fractured by a butcher's cleaver, on the like occasion.'—*Peregrine Pickle*, Vol. II. ch. xxxviii.

112. [Enter Williams.] Ff. In the Ff. l. 113 is printed as two lines,—the first ending *so*,—and this Entry is placed between them. (Capell arranged l. 113, *God . . . him*, as one line.) It was omitted by Malone, on the ground, I presume, that the stage direction at l. 115 rendered it unnecessary. Succeeding editors have accepted this change. I think Williams's presence should be accounted for, and have therefore retained the old Entry.

113. *God*] Qq., F2, 3, 4. *Good* F1.

113. *Our Heralds go with him*] After the account of the naming of the battle (see *Introd.*, p. xliii), this passage ensues: 'He [Henry V.] feasted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request, which busilie sought through the field for such as were slaine. *But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone*, for they searched with them, & found manie hurt, but not in ieopardie of their liues, whom they tooke prisoners, and brought them to their tents.'—*Ch.* 555/148.

115. [Points . . . Heralds.] *Points to Williams* is Malone's stage direction. *Exeunt . . . Heralds* Ed. *Exeunt Heralds with Montjoy* Theobald. *Exit Heralds* (*Herauld* Q2) Qq.

123. *a liue*] *a' live* Capell. *aliue* Ff. This change may not be necessary, but *aliue* and *ever dare* is an awkward construction. *a liue* was not unlikely to be misprinted *aliue*. Johnson and Steevens, Malone, and Knight, adopted Capell's reading. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, retained *aliue*. Dyce disapproved of the reading *a' live*, because the repetition of the word below supported the F. text. Afterwards (1864) he wrote: 'I am now inclined to believe that Capell's alteration is right.'—Dyce's *Sh.*, iv. 530. Nevertheless, Dyce retained *aliue* in his text.

148. [Exit.] Ff. *Exit souldier* Qq.

164. [Exit.] Ff.

178. [Exeunt.] Ff.

ACT IV.

Scene viii.

[Before . . . Pavilion.] Theobald. [Enter . . . Williams.] Ff. *Enter* (Capitaine Q2, 3) *Gower, Flewellen, and the Souldier* Qq. The 'Souldier's' Entry is explained by his first words, which show that he had been vainly trying to attract Fluellen's attention. He says: 'Do you heare[,] you sir? / do you know this gloue?'

1. [Enter Fluellen.] Ff.

7. [Points . . . cap.] The king and Williams had exchanged gloves. Williams now shows Fluellen the king's glove (l. 5), and then strikes out his own, which the king had given to Fluellen. This stage direction was suggested to me by Dr. Nicholson. He preferred punctuating thus: *this; and* &c.

8. [Strikes him.] Ff. *He strikes him* Qq.

18. [Enter . . . Gloucester.] Ff. *Enter the King, VVarwicke, Clarence, and Exeter* Qq.

22. [Enter . . . Exeter.] Ff. Ff. om. *the*.

37—40. *Give . . . termes.* Pope printed these lines as prose. In the Ff. ll. 37, 38 are arranged as two lines, the first ending *Souldier*; and ll. 39, 40 are printed as in my text. Knight arranged ll. 37—40 as verse, reading *here's* in l. 37 instead of Ff. *here is*.

39. *I* So Ff. and Qq. *me* Pope. Dr. Abbott says that the irregular use of *I* for *me* may sometimes have been due to a desire for euphony and emphasis.—*Sh. Gram.*, par. 205. *I* here is 'emphatic.

64. *will, I can tell you: it* Dr. Nicholson's punctuation. *will: I can tell you it* Ff. Editors usually punctuate thus: *will; I can tell you,* (Pope and Knight om. comma) *it*. The punctuation adopted here marks the warm-hearted Welshman's anxiety to make amends for his injustice. He uses three arguments: *I want to be friends with you: come, the money will be useful: 'tis a good shilling.*

67. [Enter . . . Herauld.] *Enter . . . Herald* Malone. *Enter Herauld* Ff.

69. [Delivers a Paper.] Malone.

97. [Herald . . . Paper.] Malone. Pope, and Johnson and Steevens, followed Q2, 3 in assigning ll. 98—101 to Exeter.

108. *we* F2, 3, 4. *me* F1.

117. *Rights* So Ff. This spelling often occurs in the Ff. Shakspeare may have intended to combine the ideas of 'rights' = *things due*, and 'rites,' *religious ceremonies*; the two words having the same sound. With 'Doe . . . Rights' cf. the phrase *justa facere, solvere*, and the like, e. g. 'Micipsa paucis diebus moritur. Postquam illi [Jugurtha and Micipsa's sons], more regio, *justa magnifice facerant*,' &c.—*Jugurtha*, xi.

121. [Exeunt.] Ff. *Exit omnes* Qq.

ACT V.

Chorus.

Actus Quintus Ff. [Enter Chorus.] Ff.

7. *Toward . . . scene*] So Ff. *there*; and *there being* F2, 3, 4. *there*; *there seen awhile* Steevens conj. *there* should perhaps be pronounced *the-er*. See Abbott's *Sh. Gram.*, par. 480.

10. *Maids*] Dr. Nicholson's addition. *Men, Wives, and Boyes* Ff. F2, 3, 4 have: *Men, with Wives, and Boyes*, which is rather jejune. The 'Maids' complete the family group. The readings in the later Ff. are, I presume, merely conjectural emendations. *and wives* Anon conj.

29. *As, . . . likelihood*] So Ff. For *lower*, but Pope substituted *low*, but. Johnson followed the text of the Ff., observing that editors who adopted Pope's reading 'destroyed the praise which the poet designed for Essex; for who would think himself honoured by the epithet *low*? The poet, desirous to celebrate that great man, whose popularity was then his boast, and afterwards his destruction, compares him to King Harry; but being afraid to offend the rival courtiers, or perhaps the queen herself, he confesses that he *is lower* than a king, but would never have represented him absolutely as *low*.'—*Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 456. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, accepted the conj. of Seymour, who omitted *by* before *louing*. Walker approved of this omission. See *Sh.'s Versification*, &c., p. 122. In my opinion, the line scans better if the second *by* be retained.

36—39. — *As . . . them,*—] Malone made ll. 36—39 a parenthesis, but was unable to reconcile the words 'The Emperours coming,' i. e. the emperor *is* coming, with the fact that the Chorus is speaking of the past. He said: 'I believe a line has been lost before "The emperor's," &c.—If we transpose the words *and omit*, we have a very unmetrical line, but better sense. "Omit the emperor's coming,—and all the occurrences which happened till Harry's return to France." Perhaps this was the author's meaning, even as the words stand. If so, the mark of parenthesis should be placed after the word *home*, and a comma after *them*.'—*Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 458. M. Mason proposed to read: *The emperor coming*, &c. It seems to me that ll. 36—39 are parenthetical, and, moreover, that Malone's difficulty vanishes if we regard 'The Emperours coming,' i. e. *the emperor is coming*, as an historical present. The Chorus uses the present tense repeatedly, from l. 6 downward. Hammer substituted *Pass o'er for As yet* (l. 36), and altered l. 37 thus: *Ie thought, the . . . home*; &c. Capell read: *And here . . . French Invites,—the . . . home,*— Knight asked: 'Why should the lamentation of the French invite the king of England to stay at home?' He proposed to arrange thus: *Now . . . him*; *As . . . French. The emperor's coming . . . France Invites . . . home, To . . . them: and omit All the occurrences*, &c. 'Invites' is, I take it, equivalent to *permits*. The defeat which the French sustained at Agincourt was so crushing as to release the king from the necessity of following up his victory without delay. He could attend to home affairs, and make leisurely preparations for his second expedition. Dyce, Delius, Deighton,

and Rolfe, adopted Mason's reading. The Cambridge editors followed the text of the Ff., but did not make *As . . . them* a parenthesis.

45. [Exit.] Ff.

ACT V.

Scene i.

[France. . . . Camp.] Cambridge editors. [Enter . . . Gower.] Ff. *Enter Gower, and Fluellen* Qq.

1. *Nay, that's right* ;] In the Ff. there is a colon after *right*. Dr. Nicholson regards *Nay . . . right* as the conclusion of some unknown subject which Gower and Fluellen had been discussing before their entry. Gower then abruptly turns to Fluellen, and asks him why he wears his leek. If this be so, the colon should be retained. I suspect, on the contrary, that Fluellen had just said how proud he was of wearing this 'memorable Trophee,' or something to that effect.

13. [Enter Pistol.] Ff. and Qq. In the Qq. the Entry is placed between ll. 14, 15.

18—20. *Ha ! . . . Leeks*] Arranged as by Pope. Prose in Ff.

28. [Strikes him.] Ff. *He strikes him* Qq. The stage directions connected with Fluellen's revenge may be here conveniently summarized. Pope's *Strikes him* at l. 33 is warranted by Fluellen's words. Gower's remonstrance (l. 37) shows that a larger exhibition of *argumentum baculinum* was necessary in order to overcome Pistol's unnatural distaste for leeks. Capell put *beating again* after 'fall to' (l. 35). The stage direction against l. 43 is taken from Q3. It is justified by Fluellen's injunction, 'Pite, I pray you ;' and Pistol's answer. Lastly, it is evident from Pistol's entreaty (l. 48) that a fresh shower of blows helped down the last morsels of the hated vegetable. Perhaps ll. 49, 50, 'Nay, pray you throw none away,' call for a stage direction such as this, suggested to me by Dr. Nicholson. *Ff. picks up the remainder and returns it him.*

35. Quotation commas to mark Fluellen's facetious allusion to *The Squire of Lowe Degre*.

35. *to*] F2, 3, 4. *too* F1.

44. *same*] Mr. Furnivall's addition. Ll. 44, 45 are printed as prose in the Ff. Dyce printed them as verse. The insertion of *same* improves the metre of l. 44, and the word is, moreover, quite in Pistol's manner. Capell proposed to make three lines of ll. 44, 45, ending *leek . . . I eat . . . swear*.

45. *eke*] Johnson's conjecture, adopted by Malone, and Rann. *I eate and eate I swear* Ff. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, retained *and eat* ; punctuating thus : *I eat and eat, I swear*— Knight thus explained his punctuation : 'In printing "I eat—and eat—I swear," we do not deviate from the words of the original. Fluellen stands over Pistol with his cudgel, who says, "I eat ;"—Fluellen makes a motion as if again to strike him, when he repeats "and eat." He then mutters, "I swear ;" to which Fluellen adds, "Eat, I pray you—there is not enough leek to swear by."' Knight placed a period after *swear*. Pope read :

I eat and swear— Conjectures are : *I eat, and eating swear* Holt White. *I eat and*— Flu. *Eat !* Pist. *I swear*— Delius. *I eat ! an I eat, I swear*— Cambridge editors. None of these interpretations seem to me satisfactory. *Eke* makes good sense, and—what is more to the point—is good Pistolese. In fact, Pistol uses the word in *Merry Wives*, I. iii. 105.

62. [Exit.] Ff. *Exit Flewellen* Qq.

65. *begun* Capell. *began* Ff.

73. [Exit.] Ff.

74—83. *Doeth . . . warres.* Ll. 74—76 are arranged as by Capell. In l. 74 he read *huswy* (*huswy* Q1, 2) for Ff. *huswife*. Pope first printed ll. 74—83 as verse. He made one line of ll. 75, 76, omitting *i th* (so Ff.) *Spittle* (l. 75). Ll. 77—83 are arranged as by Pope. For *well*, *Bawd Ile turne* (l. 79) he read : *well, bawd will I turne*, following the Qq., which have : '*Bawd will I turne*, and vse the slyte (slight Q3) of hand.' With the Qq., he omitted *cutgeld* in l. 82.

75. *Nell* So Capell. *Doll* Ff. and Qq. The Cambridge editors remarked that although, judging from l. 77, it appears that Shakspeare should have written *Nell*, yet, as both Ff. and Qq. read *Doll*, the mistake was probably the author's own, and therefore, in accordance with their principle, they retained it. Dyce could not believe that Shakspeare had forgotten the enmity between Pistol and Doll Tearsheet ; Pistol's marriage to Nell Quickly, whom he addresses as '*my Nel*' (II. i. 28 above), and from whom he parts most lovingly ; and his contemptuous offer of Doll to Nym. Moreover, Pistol's '*rendevous*' must have been Nell's house. It seems to me that editors should not correct historical inaccuracies, like, for example, *pax* for *pix* (III. vi. 38, 43, above), because, in such a case, we may fairly presume that Shakspeare deliberately departed from his authority, and of his right to do so if he pleased I suppose none will doubt. But when we find a reading which is at variance with his own settled plan,—as in this case,—we may—granting that it is not a compositor's mistake—regard it nevertheless as a clerical error, which Shakspeare would himself have drawn his pen through if he had observed it.

76. *malady* Pope. *a malady* Ff. *One* (i. e. on = of) *mallydie* Qq.

83. *swear* Qq. *swore* F1, 2. *swear* F3, 4.

83. [Exit.] Ff. *Exit Pistoll* Qq.

ACT V.

Scene ii.

[Troyes in Champagne.] Malone. [Enter . . . Lords.] *Enter at one doore, King Henry, Exeter, Bedford, Warwicke, and other Lords. At another, Queene Isabel, the King, the Duke of Bourgogne (Bourgoigne F2. Burgoign F3), and other French* Ff. *Enter at one doore, the King of England and his Lords. And at the other doore, the King of France, Queene Katherine, the Duke of Bourbon, and others* Qq. Instead of the usual *King*. ll. 21, 68, 75, 83, 95, 312, 314, 318, and 331 are preceded by the marginal names *Eng.* or *England.* *France.* (Fra. l. 9 ;

French King. l. 309) is prefixed to Charles VI.'s speeches, and *Quee.* stands against Queen Isabel's. Malone substituted *Alice* for the *Lady* of the Ff. The comparative ignorance of English displayed by the *Lady* makes this identification somewhat doubtful.

12. *England*] F2, 3, 4. *Ireland* F1.

18, 19. *The venome . . . their*] Dr. Abbott considers that the proximity of a plural noun caused such an irregular use of the plural verb. He gives several examples of this construction in his *Sh. Gram.*, par. 412. See also a note on *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 344, 345, in Dyce's *Sh.*, ii. 251.

23. *on*] So Ff. Dr. Nicholson proposed to read *one*, because Burgundy, wishing to pay a compliment to the two kings, meant to say that he owed them 'equall loue,' but *on* implies that he could only give them love for love. See Nares's *Glossary*, s. v. ONE. I think that '*on*' = *from, on the score of*. Cf. II. ii. 54 above, and *Richard III.*, IV. i. 3, 4. . . . 'shee's wandering to the Tower, On pure hearts loue, to greet the tender Prince.'—F1. Other examples of this sense are cited in Schmidt's *Sh. Lex.*, s. v. *On*, p. 805, coll. 1, 2.

35. *Plentyes*] So Ff. Dyce read *plenty*. In a note (Dyce's *Sh.*, iv. 532) he quoted Walker's *Crit. Exam.*, &c., i. 254, to this effect: 'The error arose (ut sæpe) from contagion.' 'Plentyes' is a collective noun, like *riches*. Shakspere often uses such. Cf. 'Maiesties,' I. ii. 197 above.

40. *it*] There are many instances of '*it*' = *its*, in F1. See Schmidt's *Sh. Lex.*, s. v. *It*, p. 600, col. 2. In *Tom Tell-Trothes New Yeares Gift*, 1593, we have: 'all *it* [Jealousy's] delighte is in findinge of faultes, and all *it* ioy to encrease mislike. If it hath *it* beginning of loues contrary,' &c.—New Sh. Soc.'s ed., p. 29. See also *Id.*, p. 94, l. 4.

45. *Fumitory*] So F4. *Femetary* F1, 2, 3. In *Lear*, IV. iv. 3, *Fenitar* Ff. *femiter* Qq. Cotgrave gives: 'Fume-terre: f. *The hearbe Fumitorie*.'

46. *Doth*] So Ff. Cf. Prol. I. 9, and III. ii. 9, above.

50. *all*] Rowe (ed. 2). *withall* Ff.

54. *And all*] So Ff. Capell, and succeeding editors, usually adopted Roderick's conj. *And as*, and his substitution of a comma for the period in the Ff. after *wildnesse*. The connection between l. 56 and the lines preceding seems sufficiently clear without this change.

72. *Tenures*] 'Tenure' = *tenour* often occurs in the Ff. Florio has: 'Tenore, a tenor, a tenure, a forme, a content . . . Also a tenor or degree in musick.' Under 'Tenore' he gives: 'tenure or holding of land or any thing else.'

77. *cursorary*] So Pope from Q3. *curselarie* F1. *curslary* F2, 3, 4. *cursenary* Q1, 2. *I have as yet but with a cursory eye* Hammer.

82. *Pass our accept*] So Ff. Warburton proposed to read, 'Pass, or accept, and peremptory answer,' because the French king could not have meant to say absolutely that he accepted all the articles. Theobald, and Johnson and Steevens, adopted this reading. So also the Collier MS. Malone thought 'accept' was equivalent to *acceptation*; that is, the opinion which the king might form of the articles, and his peremptory answer to each particular. He compared 'accep-

tion,' used by Fuller for *acceptation* . . . 'if at this day the phrase of "wearing a Monmouth cap" be taken in a bad *acception*,' &c.—*Worthies* (Monmouthshire), ed. Nuttall, ii. 432. If the text was altered he preferred reading, "'Pass, or *except*," &c., i. e. *agree* to, or *except* against the articles.' Tollet supposed the king to mean: 'we will pass our acceptance of what we approve, and we will pass a peremptory answer to the rest.'—*Variorum Sh.*, xvii. 468. This is also Knight's explanation. According to Schmidt (*Sh. Lex.*) 'accept' = *acceptance*.

98. [Exeunt.] Exeunt omnes Ff. [Manent . . . Alice.] *Manet King and Katherine* Ff. *Exit King* (French King Q3) *and the Lords. Manet, Hrry* (Harry Q2. *King Henry* Q3), *Katherine, and the Gentlewoman* Qq.

107. *vat*] So Rowe. *wat* Ff. L. 175: *wat* Ff. *what* Qq. *what* Rowe. L. 254: *wat* Ff, 2, 3. *what* F4. *what* Qq. L. 130: *well* Ff. *vell* Cambridge editors. Dr. Caius (in Ff.) says *vat* (often), *vater*, *vell* (twice), *ver* = where, *wherefore*, *vill*, *vor* = for, and *world*.

118. *tongues*] F2, 3, 4. *tongues* Ff.

119. *dat is de Princess*] So Ff. M. Mason proposed to read: 'dat *says* de princess.' According to Steevens, the F. reading means: 'that is what the princess has said.' *dat is de princess say* Keightley conj.

130. *understand*] *understand not* Keightley, Dyce, conj. In ll. 131—166 Henry is not, I think, explaining his meaning more clearly, but is merely pursuing the theme of ll. 120—129.

153. *places*] *paces* Anon., *apud* Dyce, conj. The king speaks of his 'Constance'; therefore, 'in other places' means: *other ladies*.

163. *take me: and . . . king. And*] Thus punctuated in the Ff.: *take me ? and take me ; take a Souldier : take a Souldier ; take a King. And, &c.* Editors usually punctuate thus: *take me : And take me, take a soldier ; take a soldier, take a king : And, &c.* The Cambridge editors placed a semi-colon after *take me*, and retained the period after *King*. Pope read and punctuated thus: *take me ; take a soldier ; take a King : and, &c.*

178, 179. *Quand j'ay*] So Foote. *Je quand sur* Ff. *Je dis, quand j'ay* Long MS. *Je conte sur* Anon. conj. The Cambridge editors retained the reading of the Ff. 'Quan France et mon' Qq. I assume that Henry is meant to talk '*fausse*' French, and have therefore retained his wrong genders here, and also at l. 211 below. Capell read *la . . . la*, and at l. 211 Rowe read *chere et divine*. These changes have been usually adopted since, but the latter is, as the Cambridge editors observed, inconsistent with the retention—also usual—of *mon*. The Cambridge editors, and Rolfe, retained Henry's wrong genders in both places.

186. *meilleur*] Hanmer. *melieus* Ff, 2. *melius* F3, 4.

212. '*aus*]' *ave* Ff. Johnson and Steevens, and Knight, follow Capell in marking the elision of the aspirate. Dyce, and the Cambridge editors, print *ave*. With regard to the pronunciation of the old French H, Mr. Ellis says: 'The question is not whether in certain French words H was aspirated, but whether the meaning attached to "aspiration" in old French was the same as that in modern French or in English.' In Barclay's *French Pronunciation*, 1521, p. 8, the reader is told that H 'is no lettre, but a note of asperacvon or token of

sharpe pronouncynge of a worde. From Theodore Beza we learn that 'aspirationem Franci quantum fieri potest emolliunt, sic tamen vt omnino audiat, at non asperè ex imo guttere efflata, quod est magnopere Germanis et Italis præsertim Tuscis obseruandum.'—*De Francicæ linguæ recta pronuntiatione tractatus*, 1584, p. 25. See more on this head in Mr. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation* (E. E. T. S. ed., Pt. III. pp. 805, 809, and 831), from which work these quotations are taken.

217. *vntempering*] So Ff. Dyce followed Warburton's reading, *untempting*. He also adopted Johnson's conjecture, *tempted*, in II. ii. 118 & above. Steevens understood 'temper'd' to mean *formed, moulded*, and 'vntempering' he considered to be equivalent to *unsoftening, unpersuasive*. Lettsom denied the relevancy of the quotations from 2 *Henry IV.*, IV. iii. 140, and *T. Andronicus*, IV. iv. 109; cited by Steevens in support of these interpretations. Cf. also *Two Gent.*, III. ii. 64, and *Richard III.*, I. i. 65. In the latter instance, however, the Ff. read *temptis*. Schmidt's first explanation of 'vntempering' is similar to Steevens's, but he also suggests that it may mean 'not fit for the occasion;' comparing 'For few men rightly *temper* with the stars' (3 *Henry VI.*, IV. vi. 29), i. e. 'act and think in conformity with their fortune.' See *Sh. Lex.*, s. vv. *Temper* and *Untempering*. Dr. Nicholson says: 'To temper mortar or putty is still—to mix or mingle it to a due consistency and oneness. The participle in *ing* is not unfrequently used by Shakspeare where we would use that in *ed*. Hence I take *vntempering* to be features not adjusted to one another, or not forming an harmonious whole.'—Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. 75, and *Lear*, IV. vi. 226.

237. *Queene of all Katherines*,] Capell's conjecture, adopted by Dyce, and Deighton. *Queene of all, Katherine* Ff. Walker observed: 'he calls her before "la plus belle Katherine du monde" (or, as Petruchio hath it, "the prettiest Kate in Christendom").'—*Crit. Exam.*, &c. i. 265.

247. *d'une de vostre Seigneurie indigne*] So the Cambridge editors. *d'une nostre Seigneur indigne* Ff. *d'une vostre indigne serviteur* Pope, an emendation accepted, I believe, by all other editors. His reading does not account for *Seigneur* (l. 247). It is possible that, in the MS., *Seigneur* (l. 248) stood just below the words *vostre* and *indigne*, and that the compositor glanced down at it, and set it up between those words. By straining the sense a little, *Seigneurie* could be used as a title. Cotgrave glosses it thus: '*Seigneurie*: f. *Seigniorie, lordship, souveraineté, maestie, dominion*,' &c. The Cambridge editors, and Dyce, read *serviteur*, rightly, because there is no such word as *serviteure*.

254. *baiser*] Hanmer. *buisse* Ff. *to bassie* Qq.

266. [Kissing her.] Rowe.

270. [Re-enter . . . Lords.] *Enter the French Power, and the English Lords* Ff. *Enter the King (Kings Q3) of France, and the Lordes* Qq.

311. *never*] Rowe. not Capell.

320. *then*] So F2, 3, 4. and in the sequel Keightley conj.

327. *Héritier*] *Heretere* Ff. Not accented by Cotgrave.

327. *Præclarissimus*] So Ff. and Qq. See *Introduction*, p. liv.

328. *Hæres*] *Heres* Ff.

333. *And, . . . Daughter.*] Walker (*Sh.'s Versification*, &c., p. 206) proposed to read: *daughter here*. He remarked, however, that *daughter* is sometimes a trisyllable. Dr. Abbott classes this case amongst those where *er* final 'seems to have been sometimes pronounced with a kind of "burr," which produced the effect of an additional syllable; just as "Sirrah" is another and more vehement form of "Sir."—*Sh. Gram.*, par. 478. Mr. Furnivall considers l. 333 to be a four-measure, with extra syllable.

341. [Lords.] Ff. At l. 355, *All Ff*. Rowe placed *All* against l. 341. Pope retained *Lords*. In the first prayer (ll. 334—341) the subjects of the two kingdoms are exclusively interested; the second (ll. 345—354) concerns the betrothed pair as well as their people.

344. [Flourish.] Ff.

351. *Paction* Theobald. *Pution* F1, 2. *Passion* F3, 4

358. *Leagues*] So Ff. Dyce, and Deighton, read *league*. Walker (*Crit. Exam.*, &c., i. 255) suspected that infection had been at work here, as in V. ii. 35 above. See note thereon. The plural is, I think, used because Burgundy did not take the oath for himself and others as well, but each French peer severally swore allegiance to Henry. The *Chronicles* relate how 'When this great matter [the treaty of Troyes] was finished, the kings sware for their parts to obserue all the couenants of this league and agreement. Holinshed gives the tenour of the oath, "(as the duke of Burgognie vttered it in solemne words,)" and adds: "The like oth a great number of the princes and nobles both spirituall and temporall, which were present, receiued at the same time."—*Ch.* 572/2/36 and 572/1/21. See *Introduction*, p. liv.

360. [Sennet. Exeunt.] *Senet. Exeunt* F1. *Sonet.* F2, 3, 4. In F1 the *S* of '*Senet*' stands under the *s* of '*Oathes*.' In F3 the *S* of '*Sonet*' stands under the *w* in '*well*.' In F4 and Rowe's ed. '*Sonet*' is placed as if it belonged to 'Enter Chorus.' '*Senet*' or '*Sonet*' was omitted by Pope and succeeding editors. Dyce restored *Sennet*. The Cambridge editors conjectured that the printer of F2 read '*Sonet*,' supposing it to be the title of the fourteen lines which the Chorus speaks.

EPILOGUE.

[Epilogus.] Cambridge editors. [Enter Chorus.] Ff.

6. *This Starre of England*] See *Introduction*, p. xiv. note 3.

14. [Exit.] Capell.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

Page i, last line. *For 1680 read 1608.*

Page ii, line 17. Touching Shakspeare's apology in Chorus IV. ll. 49—52, Schlegel remarked: 'The confession of the poet that "four or five most vile and ragged foils, right ill disposed, can only disgrace the name of Agincourt," (a scruple which he has overlooked in the occasion of many other great battles, and among others of that of Philippi,) brings us here naturally to the question how far, generally speaking, it may be suitable and advisable to represent wars and battles on the stage.'—*Lectures on Dramatic Art, &c.*, tr. Black, lec. xxvi., pp. 430, 431, Bohn's ed.

Page x, line 2 from foot, and p. liv, l. 24. I am not sure that *Henry V.*, I. ii. 282, was suggested by the passages in Caxton's *Chronicle* quoted at pp. x, xi. Shakspeare's 'Gun-stones' were probably *bullets*; but 'gun-stone' = *cannon-shot*, though unusual, may not have been obsolete in his time. Palsgrave, in his *Exclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse*, 1530, ed. Génin, p. 226, col. 2 (Table of Substantives), has: 'Gonne stone—*plombée s. f.*; *boulet z. m.*; *boule de fonte s. f.*' Compare with these definitions Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (first acted in 1605), Act V. sc. viii., where Corvino says: 'That I could shoot mine eyes at him, like *gun-stones*.' In 1539 the armed citizens of London were reviewed by Henry VIII. 'About seauen of the clocke,' we read, 'marched forward the light peeces of ordinance, with *stone* and powder.'—*Ch.* 947/2/25. Here 'stone' = *cannon-shot*.

It must not be supposed that Caxton's *Chronicle* has any independent historical authority. Stow treats it very contemptuously. 'A fabulous booke compiled by a namelesse author, but printed by *William Caxton* (and therefore called *Caxtons Chronicle*), reporteth these troubles to happen through a fray in Fleetestreete. . . . But al y^e is vntrue,' &c.—*Annales*, p. 494, ed. 1605.

Page xii, line 10. *For Brittany read Brittany.*

„ xiii, „ 7, and p. lv, l. 3. Shakspeare, in fact, substituted Exeter's embassy for that of the archbishop of Bourges, and, as we have seen (p. xi), post-dated the former. 'The ambassador from the French' is Exeter.

Page xxi, line 4. The *Gesta* does not support my statement that 'lines of circumvallation'—which serve to protect besiegers against a relieving force—were made by Henry. Nor could the king's and the duke of Clarence's intrenchments have been completed on Aug. 19. On that date part of the army, entrusted to the duke of Clarence, took up a position on the side of Harfleur

whence De Gaucourt's succours had arrived. See *Introd.*, p. xx; and xxxi, note 12. The troops under Henry's command lay on the other side of the town, opposite the duke's forces.

Page xxiv, note 6. The earl of Ponthieu was John, Charles VI.'s second son, who died in 1417.

Page xxv, line 2. *For* Brittany *read* Brittany.

„ xxviii, line 3 from foot. *For* merrie, pleasant and full of game *read* merie, pleasant, and full of game.

Page xxx, last line. *For* their *read* there.

„ xxxi, line 2. That Exeter did *not* remain at Harfleur is clearly implied by the *Chronicles*, which record that he 'established his lieutenant there, one sir John Fastolfe,' &c.—*Ch.* 550/2/31.

Page xxxi, note 4. *For* Collin's *read* Collins's.

„ xxxvi, line 28. *For* vaunt *read* vaunt.

„ xlv, note 8. 'Le Sr. de Richard Kykelley.' So in *Agincourt*, p. 369, ed. 2. *Read* Le Sr. Richard de Kykelley.

Page xlv, note 4. In the account of the review of the London citizens—quoted from at p. 162—the following description of the whiffers occurs: 'The wiffers on foot, being in number foure hundred proper light persons, were clad in white jerkins of leather cut, with white hose and shooes, euerie man with a iauelin or slaughsword in his hands, to kéepe the people in armaie. They had chaines about their necks, and fethers in their caps.'—*Ch.* 947/1/68.

Page liii, line 12. *For* tent *read* tents.

„ lxi, „ 14. *For* least *read* lest.

„ lxxii, note 3. *Read* bk. I. ch. ix. The philosopher was quoting Falstaff. See 2 *Henry IV.*, III. ii. 334, 335.

Page lxxxviii, end of note 4. *For* 1,586 persons had died of the disease *read* the disease was not extinct. (The assizes were held in March.)

Page lxxxix, line 6. *For* 1727 *read* 1728.

„ xcvi, note 5. Miss Collins played the Princess Katherine.

„ xcvi, note 2. Performances of *Henry V.* at Covent Garden. *Add* March 30, 1752.

Page xcvi, line 3 from foot. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1819, vol. lxxxix, pt. II. pp. 490, 491, there are some additions—signed W. P.—to the obituary notice of Smith at pp. 375, 376. The writer says: 'In Henry the Fifth his fine declamation realized the hero of our history, and placed him before us.'

Page xcix, note 5. Geneste gives April 13, 1758, as the date of Mrs. Pitt's first appearance as the Hostess in *Henry VI.*—*Geneste*, iv. 527, cf. vii. 76.

Page xcix, note 6. Ryan was Chorus on March 30, 1752.—*Geneste*, iv. 354.

TEXT.

Page 29, line 6. *therefore* should be *therefore*.

„ 62, „ 78. Supply comma after *Ass*.

Page 69, line 293. *do* should be *doe*.

„ 97, „ 76. *lies* should be *lyes*.

(In the Parallel Text ed. of *Henry V.*, p. 113, l. 140, *tellectual* should be *tellectuall*, and, at p. 123, l. 62, *Pifistol* should be *Pistol*. The former correction has been made in this edition.)

NOTES.

Page 127, line 29. At l. 2 from foot of this note, *for* corrected to *read* and.

„ 137, lines 23—27. Catarina Sforza died in 1509.

„ „ lines 38, 43. Further particulars concerning the ‘pax’—a plate or tablet on which is portrayed some sacred subject, usually the Crucifixion—will be found in the glossary of Dyce’s *Sh. s. v. pax*; and in G. R. French’s *Shakespeareana Genealogica*, pp. 108, 110. In the latter work (pp. 107, 109) the ‘pax’ and the ‘pyx’ are engraved.

Page 140, lines 62, 63. The version of the New Testament quoted in the note on Act III. sc. vii. ll. 62, 63, is the Genevan. Its original source is a translation of the Gospels, made from the Vulgate by Jaques Le Fevre d’Etaples (Faber Stapulensis), and published between the years 1523—1525. His version, retouched, appeared in Pierre Robert Olivetan’s translation of the Bible, published at Neufchatel, in 1535. Revised by Calvin, Beza, and others, it reappeared in the translation known as *La Bible de l’Epte*, 1540, upon which the Genevan version is based. Bayle’s *Dict.*, ed. 1741, s. v. FEVRE; Hallam’s *Literature of Europe*, 4th ed., i. 381, 382; Watt’s *Bib. Brit.*, s. vv. BIBLE and OLIVETAN. Several revisions of the edition of 1540 were afterwards made by the pastors and professors of Geneva. I learn from Dr. Nicholson that the rendering of 2 *Peter* ii. 22 in his edition of the N. T. agrees *verbatim* with that in the Bible of 1540.

Page 149, lines 129, 130. *For* Merdoza’s read Mendoza’s.

„ 150, line 3. Dr. Stokes says that *Calen o custure me* ‘is an attempt to spell, and pretty nearly represents the sound of “Colleen oge astore,” and those words mean, “Young girl, my Treasure.”’—*Life of Petrie*, 431.

Page 159, lines 178, 179. Dr. Nicholson remarked: ‘There is more following of the *ductus lit.* if we read *sur* as *j’aurai*. Also I take the *Je* before *quand* to be a part of Henry’s false French, and to stand for a would-be *Moi quand*. It does not agree with the second clause, *et quand*, &c., merely because of Henry’s difficulty in framing his sentence.’ Mr. Furnivall said: ‘Looking at Henry’s English, and his “quand vous avez,” I should read “quand j’ay seur”—*seur* (*adj.*) = safe.’

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